c:p

¶A MERVAYLOVS discourse vpon the lyfe, *deedes, and behauiours of* KATHERINE *de Medicis, Queene* mother: vvherin are displayed the meanes vvhich she hath practised to atteyne vnto the vsurping of the Kingedome of France, and to the bringing of the estate of the same vnto vtter ruine and destruction.

¶ *At Heydelberge.*

1575.

GR. III.
BR. MUS.

¶ *The gouernment of* Katherine *de Medicis* Queene of France.

Like as it is moſt profitable that the liues & deedes of all publike perſons, auctors of any notable fruite or commoditie in this vvorld, shold moſt faythfully and diligently be wryten, as well to recompence their trauailes, as alſo to be an example and mouer of others to the embracing of vertue in time to come: euen ſo doe I verely ſuppoſe it to be wished, that the memorialls of ſuch perſons, as do delyte or take paines in doing of miſchiefe, or committing of euill, should be buried in perpetuall obliuion, therby partly to punish theyr wickednes and vice, partly alſo to take from all men

(who of thẽſelues are more thẽ ſufficiẽtly enclined to euil) each patern of miſchefe, whoſe exãple thei might the ſoner frame thẽſelues vnto: vpon this occaſion haue I ſo lõg refrained frõ publiſhing the deteſtable doings of *Katherine de Medicis*, at this preſẽt vſurping the name & auctoritie of regẽt of our miſerable kingdom of *Frãce* as of one who is an aſſured pattern in her publicque actions, of al kinde of cruel tiranny, but in her priuate dealinges, of all ſortes of vice & wickedneſſe, herevpon I ſay I haue ſomewhat doubted to ſoile my hands in ſuch villanous & filthy matter: Howbeit finally with my ſelf conſidering that ſhe yet liueth, & not only liueth, but alſo ruleth all things accordig vnto thoſe paſſions which do gouerne her ſelf, yea & now vnder a title preſumpteouſly vſurped, will kepe vs in ſubiection and continew her accuſtomed whipping and tormenting of vs, without that any of vs sheweth ſemblant of feeling the ſame, much lyke as if with her enſorceled drinkes she had bewitched vs and tranſformed vs into the ſhapes and cõditions of bruite beaſts, or rather depriued vs of our ſences: by this cõſideration am I cõſtreined leauing

all doubts to binde my ſelf to ſet my hand vnto this work, althogh vnwilligly, to the ende to open vnto euery mans view, what she is who kepeth vs in her clawes, alſo by her former deedes to let them know what hereafter we may loke for, vnleſſe our ſelues doe procure ſome meanes of our own deliuerance frō the ſame. I doe not herein pretēd, (God is my witneſſe) ſimply for to ſpeak any euil of her parſō, but doe plainly goe about to reſtrayn her frō doing vs any more harme. I will in no wyſe blaſon her conditions, but only doe intēd to giue all men warning of ſuch her vniuſtice, wronges and iniuryes, as dayly she exerciſeth throughout this kingdom. I purpoſe not to ſeeke any reuenge agaynſt her (as how ſimple a reuenge this were for her ſo manifold miſchiefes committed agaynſt vs) for my deſire is, but to preuent ſuche finall vengeance, as of long tyme she hath prepared againſt all good men, enhabiting our countrey, whō in harte shee accuſeth not, but of innocency, shee hateth not, but for their vertue, neither purſueth, but for their earneſt goodwill towards the cōmon welth: wherefore I doe now entend to beginne, with her nature, countrey and

originall, imitating the poeticall phraſe, that in the ſoyle nature lyeth hidden.

Firſt *Katherine de Medicis* is a *Florentine*, wherin is to be conſidered, that as among all nations, in craft and ſubtiltie *Italy* beareth the name, ſo in *Italy Tuſcane*, and in *Tuſcane Florence* excelleth, as all common prouerbes and wryters doe teſtifie: And at what tyme ſoeuer this deteſtable crafte of diſceipt or fraude taketh roote in any perſon deſtitute of conſcience, whereof this nacion for the moſt part, is not greatly ſtoared, I will leaue vnto you to thinck what nomber and diuerſitie of miſchiefes of that party we may attend. VVell to procede, she is of the famely of *de Medicis*. This famely hauinge long lurked at *Florence* vnder the bondage and ſeruitude of the people, being in ſmal reputation, and becauſe of the vildeneſſe therof vnknowen, dyd beginne ſomewhat to appeare openly vnder the habite of a collyer, who had attayned vnto ſome welth. This man in proceſſe of tyme, brought forth a ſonne, who in time became a Phiſition, of which ſcience, he toke both ſurname and armes, therin imitating the order which among men of occupations is

The diſcent & original of Katherin de Medicis.

vntill

vntill our tyme retayned, that is, in their markes or armes to place the principall tooles required in their arte, as the Masons, a Hammer or a Trowell, the Taylors a payre of Sheares or such lyke, and so of all others: After the same maner, I say, our man toke for his armes, fiue pilles, an odde nomber, according as the Phisitions doe commonly ordeyne, and this deuice of odnesse, notwithstanding that by reason of distinction of famelies of that stock deriued, the same nomber was not alwayes obserued, yet did (I say,) this deuice of odnesse, for a long time continew: He also to the ende to leaue vnto his posteritie a memoriall, that by his arte he was become famous, tooke vpon him the surname *de Medicis* in the plurall nomber after the Italian maner, which vntill this day they doe retayne. To be briefe, peruse all the historyes of *Florence* from the beginning, yet shall you finde no mention of this famely, vntill of late dayes, notwithstanding that they writing of the partialityes and deuisions in the citie, wanted no occasion to display it, although they haue named all such famelyes and kindreds, as were eyther noble or in any wise notable, and

therefore forced to follow eyther the one parte, eyther the other: *Boccace* alſo in his recitall of the principal and almoſt all the races of *Florence*, maketh no mention of the ſame, for to be playne, the firſt tyme that euer any of the ſame ſtocke atteyned to any degree of office in the common welth, was at ſuch tyme as one *Silueſter* became capteyne of the cõmunaltie againſt the Senators or noble men, but afterward by bancques and vſury it became welthy: through wealth it corrupted the people, with corruption, it became miſtreſſe of the citie, in which miſtreſshippe it fought nothing but the rooting out of the moſt auncient and renowmed famelyes, as euery *Florentine* doth know and al hiſtoriographers moſt plainly doe teſtify: Finally through theſe ſuch darcke and vnlawfull meanes, it atteined vnto the tiranny, wherin it encreaſed ſo wonderfully, that the Duke of *Florence* late deceaſed, who at hys firſt entrance into the adminiſtration of the ſayd citie, was contẽted with xij. thouſãd duckats by yere for his enterteynmẽt & mayntenãce, at the time of his deceaſe, through his ſubtill ſleytes & politike inuẽtions, encroched yearly twelue hundred

thou-

thouſand, being alſo therin ſupported & ayded by his fortreſſes and garniſons of ſtrangers brought in, only to bridle and reſtrain his own citizens: Thus is it euident that she is diſcended of a baſe progeny, and therefore accordyng vnto the olde prouerbe: If the Maſtife neuer loued the Grayhound, thē let neuer the nobilitie of *France* attend from *Katherine de Meditis* no other thing, then the abaſing, deminishing and vtter rooting out of the ſame, in caſe she be permitted long to rule and gouerne after her owne pleaſure.

The *Florentines* for the moſt parte, as all men doe affirme with whom they doe cōtinually traficke, are ſuch as will make but ſmall accompt of their conſciences: they will outwardly pretend religion, meaning nothing leſſe: they doe enuy, diſdayne, and mortally hate all ſuch as eyther in vertue, nobilitie, or any other good qualitie, doe exceed them, but moſt eſpecially, all thoſe to whom in anye reſpect they are bounde or beholdyng, notwithſtandyng that in outward apparence they will ſeme affable vnto all men. Of all theſe good qualities aforenamed, the whole famely of *de meditis* doe retayne a quinteſſence,

very well remarked by all hiſtoriographers of our time, notwithſtanding their both fauorable and fearfull writinges: Beſides all theſe, they are alſo more perticulerly noted of a certayne prodigalitie of other mens goods, which without all reaſon they giue vnto vnworthy parſons and ſuch as are of no calling: In moſt filthy and beaſtly whordomes and lechery they doe excell: Depe diſsimulation is naturally rooted in them: and in the execution of all kinde of treaſons they be moſt readye. For proofe of theſe good conditions, I minde not heare to ſearch out the darck memoryes of the moſt auncient of this race, but am content to ſpeake only of thoſe who haue bene moſt renowmed, whoſe memoriall is yet of fresh remembrance.

Coſme and *Laurence de Medicis*, were greatly commended for their liberalitie towarde the people, and yet practiſed to tiranyſe theyr countrey, and vſed their liberalitie but as a bayte wherwith to take that fish which afterwarde they purpoſed to deuour: It can not then be termed a vertue, for whatſoeuer action is done to an other ende, or whatſoeuer any man doeth in o-

ther reſpectes, or hauing relation to any wicked purpoſe, it preſently loſeth the name of vertue: This falſe pretence and forged coyne did the people by litle and litle ſmell out, howbeit to late to take any order for redreſſe in the ſame: The effecte alſo hath plainly shewed wherevnto this shadow of vertue did tende: whoſoeuer therefore will more playnly ſee vppon what occaſion this family doth for a time pretend honeſty, may playnly perceaue the ſame in conſidering the doinges of *Leo* the tenth and *Clement* the ſeuenth, both Popes and oncles to our Queene mother, who alſo haue greatlieſt honorid this race, and whome in my opinyon, I ought eſpecially to choſe for my patternes, rather then any other, for that they haue climed vnto the higheſt dignitie, and bene placed in the moſt eminent degree, wheras euery man might more plainly behould them, and view their doings, then either among the preaſe of a comminaltie, or amonge the parcialities of a citie: Marcke nowe therefore what kind of men they were, if we will beleue either *Guicciardine* the *Florentine*, one of the principall of their faction, eyther els *Paule Ioue* Bishop of *Coſme*, their affectionate

affectionate ſeruante, who as we may beleue, aſwel for honor & duty vnto the Apoſtolick ſea, as alſo for their loue toward the parties, haue in their hiſtories ſo much as poſſibly they might, ſpared them.

The nature of Leo the tenth. Paule Ioue lib. 31. & 36.

Leo the tenth, vnto whom in nature and Phiſiognomy our Queene mother is likened and compared, before that he was created Pope, verefiing their aphoriſme, that he muſt pretende vertue and meane nothing leſſe, shewed him ſelfe ſo religious, deuout, and holy a man, that all christendome, accoumpted them ſelues through his election moſt happy, attending partly a generall peace, partly alſo hoping for ſome particuler reſt, after ſuch manifould warres, tumoultes, and ſpoyles, as his predeceſſor *Iulius* the ſeconde had in all places ſtired vp: But ſo ſone as he had atteyned vnto the papal dignitie and was once placed in S. *Peters* chayre, and that hee knewe him ſelfe to be gotten into the higheſt degree that euer hee might loke for in this worlde, he grewe quyte oute of all mens knoweledge, and euery one mighte plainly perceaue his ſubtylty: Hee ſtirred vp debate amonge the Chriſtiane Princes, feyninge ſecrete frende-

See Guicciardine & Iouius throughout his whole papacye.

shippe with the Emperoure and the King of *France*, both at one time, and eyther of them being mortall enemy vnto other: He promyſed ſecret ayd to each of thē at once, wherby the more to enflame & encorage thē vnto mutuall battail: He cauſed to proclaime Iubilies, and to celebrate proceſſiōs whiles in the mene time him ſelfe was plonged, euen to the throte in all kinde of pleaſures and voluptuouſneſſe: He cauſed to preache Croyſades againſt the Turckes throughout all Chriſtendome, and al to no intēt but to gather mony wherwith to enrich his bauds, harlots, Ieſters, flatterers and ſuch other hys hāgers on: He promiſeth pardons vnto whome ſoeuer will contribute, & all that by his contribucions may be gathered, is preſētly beſtowed vpō exceſſiue charges, vnreſonable rewards, & the maintenance of his ſiſter *Magdalein*, vnto whom he grāteth all the mony ariſing of his pardones throughout *Germany*, Hervpon, ſaith *Guicciardine*, *Luther* toke occaſyon to cry out againſt *Purgatory*, & to enter into the liſtes with the Pope: Our ſelues alſo haue ſene what hath ſince that time chāced through out chriſtendom: He ſemeth very liberal

Guicciardine lib. 3.

but

but it is of the treasure which his predecessor Pope *Iulius* had collected and horded vp togither, notwithstanding all the warres which he alwayes continewed and maintemed, that is to say, of the goodes and honoures of the church, which he stil destributeth only vnto his kinsfolkes and *Floretine* seruauntes and frendes: It is saint *Peters* patrimony which he still destroieth with his petty bribes and such other his graūtes as dayly he augmenteth and cōfirmeth vnto thē: It is mony doblye exacted of all beneficial expeditions throughout Christendō, which is bestowed vpō the enriching of a few persons vnto whome he hath wholy vowed him self. In the meane time he is the cause of murmures and dissencion in the Church, which presentlye doeth and still shall repent and smart for the same: He of long time hath empouerished the clergie: He hath so morgaged the ecclesiasticall liuinges in Italye, that hys succesſor tyndeth nothing to take vnto, whereof the prouerb yet remayneth, that he cōtinewed pope long after his decease, to be breif, through building some goodlye piller, or euriching some new portall, he destroyeth the whole building. Let vs therefore

Guicciardine. lib. 14 Paule Ioue lib. 25. about the beginning.

Guicciardine. lib. 14.

therfore now proceede vnto *Clement* the seuenth, another of our *Katherins* onkles.

This man was created Cardinal contrary vnto the decrees of holy Church which do exclude all bastardes: Then was hee by buying with mony and fayre promyses the voyce of the parloure, created Pope, albeit before time vntill this poyncte he had resonably well played his part. Herein may you behold howe their owne seruauntes, being by the truth forced, do sette them out vnto vs.

The rising vp of Clemēt the. 7 Guicciardine lib. 12 and 15.

This Pope at euery word spake of making by a common consente, a generall warre against the Turck, and yet neuertheless continually eyther moued, either norished warre among the Christians, coasting sometime one, sometime another prince, and many times both of them at once, the easelier to entertayne them: He spake of pursuing heretikes, and yet him self in *Rome* was not ashamed to procure disputacions among sōdry phylosophers, gathered oute of all those borders, concerning the immortalitie of the soule, neyther feared he to affirme that he could neuer beleue it to be immortall. He motioned confederaties betwene the Empe-

The heresi of clement the. 7.

roure

rour and the king of *France*, with other Christian Princes, and neuertheleſſe accompted it folly to keepe promiſe without profit, by which meanes ſay they, hee obteyned the reward of periured parſons, that is, that whatſoeuer he promiſed, yea euen in ful entent to performe, yet would no man beleue him: This appeared in all ſuch dealinges as hee had among moſte princes in Chriſtendome: It might alſo be perceiued in ſuch his priuate reuenges as he executed in *Florence*, after that hee had recouered it: For he put to death all the cheifeſt and moſt notable perſones, contrarye to the expreſſe wordes of the parle. Comming afterward to deſcribe his nature, thus they write of him, He delited much in diſſimulacion: he was familier with none, but ſuch as ſatiſfied or wer of ſom coũſel in his greteſt ſecrets (Theſe wordes are plaine enough to be vnderſtode without terming thinges by their proper names) and thoſe perſons did hee without ſhame, reſpect, or any regard at al aduaunce vnto the higheſt dignities and chiefeſt honoures, and vnreaſonably enrich: But as for honeſte perſons, men of eſtimacion or honoure (marcke the very

Paule Ioue lib. 30.

Paule Ioue lib. 29.

The nature of clemẽt the 7.

Paule Ioue lib. 32. in the ſame wordes.

nature

nature of his niece) those did he in outward countenance enterteyne with faire words, but in harte, as by the effect might be gathered, he abhorred and hated them, and principally so many of them as hee was in any wyse behoulding or bounden vnto, therein resembling the euil debter towardes his creditors: yea in the vice of ingratitude hee so farre excelled, that *Iouius* writeth that hee was more glad and tooke greater pleasure in that the Prince of *Orendge*, who vnto his behoulfe held the citie of *Florence* straightly beseged, was there slayne, then he was for the recouery of the citie, or for his election vnto the Papacye, only for feare least hee should haue in recompence of his trauayles demanded his dearly beloued niece *Katherine* in mariage, of whom, to the entent thereby to wring out of him some seruice, hee had put him in some hope: He dyed being suspect in all his dealings amongst most of the Christian Princes, He was become odious vnto the whole courte of *Rome*, and wonderfully hated among all men, insomuch that notwithstanding his Phisition was greatly suspected to haue poysoned hym, yet there was no man who in harte did not

Paule Ioue lib. 29.

Paule Ioue lib. 32. Guicciardine, lib. 20

thancke him for the ſame, and inwardly moſt highly commend him for this his ſo ſinguler a benefite vnto al Chriſtiandom, and principally vnto the citie of *Rome*, which he deliuered from ſo cruel a tyrant: These be the reports of the onkles of our *Katherine*, of whome neuertheleſſe, I omit to rehearſe the teſtimonies of our moſte approued Hiſtoriographers, which haue wrytten of late dayes, for thoſe men who perſonally knew him, may dilate herevpon: In caſe you demande what maner of man his father *Laurence de Medicis* was, all men will affirme that he was a man conſumed & waſted in all maner of villanies, whoredomes and inceſtes, ſuche a one as was blynded with ambition, & one who wanted nothinge but power to commit moſt greuous euells & miſchiefes: Again, enquiringe what man his coſſen *Laurence de Medicis* was, you shall ſone finde out his diſsimulation, and after what maner hee practiſed his fayned friendship the eſpace of one whole yeare, toward *Alexander de medicis*, his neare kinſman, how he became eſclaue to all his pleaſures: how he made him ſelfe his eſpye towarde *Strozzi*, and other his enemies: and his baude vnto all

Paul Ioue lib. 32.

Paul Ioue lib. 36.

ſuch

such as he lusted after, yea euen vnto most execrable incestes, and yet notwithstanding all these thinges, in the ende how he alluringe the fayde *Alexander* home vnto his own house, vnder coulor of procuring vnto him the pleasure of a certayne fayre Lady, in his owne bedd, and with his own hand slew him.

Here haue you seene how both her natiue soyle, her race & famely, and also the dealinges and practises of her most neere kinsfolkes, doe warne vs, & as it were, wil vs to looke for most terrible matters at her handes.

The starres in her natiuitie did plainly threaten the place of her habitation: For her parents, according vnto the dispositiō of that contrye, beinge very curious to know her destiny, did from al places theraboutes, gather togither the most renouned and skilful Astrologers, to the ende, to calculate hir natiuity, amōg whom ther came one, named *Basil* the Mathematicia, who before time had prognosticated vnto the late duke of *Florēce* that a high & most excellēt dignity did tary for him, notwithstandinge at that tyme there vvas no such likelyhood. The register or opinion of all

Prognostications at her birth

these astrologers agreing in one sentence is written after the forme of a consultation, and might yet peraduenture bee recouered, the effect whereof was, that they all by one accord did iudge that in case shee liued, she should be occasion of great calamities, and of the final and vtter subuersion of her famely or houshould, also of the place whereunto she should be maried: at this sentence her parentes were so greatly abashed, that they were almost at the poynct to cast her forth, thereby to preuent, least lyke vnto *Paris* with diuers more, she should bring destruction vpon her natiue countrey, howbeit finallye they determined, euen for verye pitie to norish and bring her vp: Notwithstanding to the end to frustrate & make voyd such enclinations as these astrologers had prognosticated, they determined neuer for to marry her: But shortly after it so befel that *Florence* hauing practised meanes to shake of the yoke of the famelye of the *Medices* was besieged by Pope *Clement*, in the yeare of our Lorde a thousande fiue hundred and thirtie, for that he pretended to gouern thē: Now in this time it so happened, that the former calculation which

could

could not be ſo cloſely concealed,as it was wished,was reuealed by meanes of *Clarice de Medicis* the wife of *Philip Strozzi*,who being a formall enemy vnto this race,whom she reputed as baſterdes,had heard an inckling of the ſame, and beſides her diuers other perſons which forced not much of keping it ſecreate: The rumor therefore hereof being ſomewhat great, was ſoone ſpred into euery mans eare, whereupon the citizens thincking it not meete that she should be highly marryed,and ſuſpecting leaſt she should be cauſe of the ſubuerſion of their citie(which ſuſpicion alſo was the more feared, by reaſon that her Onkle *Clement* did eſpecially demand that his ſayd Niece *Katherine* should bee vnto him reſtored)aſſembled hereupon a counſel to determine of her caſe: Some thought it beſt to put her in a baſket, and then to hange her ouer the towne walles and rampiers,to the ende ſome shot of the canon might beare her away, yea there was one preacher who exhorted them ſo to ridde their hands of her,Others thought it good to put her into the ſtewes ſo ſoone as shee should come to age: An other ſort would that she should be taken from the nonne-

ry vvherein she vvas kept and be put among the recluſes from whēce she might neuer depart, generally vvith one accorde they all vvilled that shee might neuer be reſtored vnto her onkle: but finally, the ſentence vvhich in outward apparence ſemed moſte gentle, yet in effecte the moſt cruel, vvas followed, vvhich vvas the opinion of certayne, vvho vvilled her to be kept ſtill among the nonnes, vntill the ende of theyr vvarres, vvhervpon she was ther retayned, vntill the citie yelded: vvith her had the pope during the ſiedge gratefyed the prince of *Orenge*, how beit ſeinge him ſelfe now deliuered frō him, he ſometyme ſmileth vpon Frances Sforza, Duke of *Millan*, on the Emperors behalfe, ſometime vpon one, ſometime vpon an other, vntill that finally an extreme deſire of reuenge, practiſed and concluded this vnfortunate mariage, which happened thus.

King *Frances* the firſt of *France*, miſliked ſuche extremitie, as the Emperour during his captiuitie had vſed towardes him, and beſides that, vvas not content vvith thoſe articles vvherevnto himſelfe before his deliuery, dyd agree. Pope *Clement* alſo was vexed with the facking and ſpoyle of

Guicciardine lib. 20

Rome

Rome vvhereas him ſelfe vvas taken pri- *Paul Ione*
ſoner, for as he affirmed, this enterpriſe *lib.* 31.
vvas not begonne vvithout the conſent *Mart. du*
of the Emperour, vvho alſo not longe ſi- *Bellay. lib.*
thēce, being choſen as an vmpier, had ad- 4.
iudged the citie of *Ferrara* vnto the Duke
of Modena, vvhich Pope Clement pre-
tended to purſue: They bothe therefore
vvould fayne be reuenged, but eyther of
them dyd in part miſtruſt his owne habi-
litie: For the French kinge had neede of
the Popes authoritie, and the Pope alſo
vvanted parte of the Frenche Kinges
power. The French kinge therefore by
the cardinals of *Turnon* and of *Grandmonte*,
moued communication of a match to be
made betwene his ſecond ſonne *Henry*, at
that tyme Duke of *Orleance* and *Katherine* *Mariage*
the Popes niece: *Clement* vvas very vvil- *of the*
ling and deſirous of the ſame, but it could *Queene*
neuer ſincke into his minde, that ſuche a *mother.*
matche could be ment in good earneſte
Herevpon the Pope breaketh this matter
vnto the Emperor, in whom he fayned to
repoſe aſſured truſt, by reaſō of the alyāce
cōfirmed betwen them, by the mariage of
alexāder de medicis, vnto the ēperors natural
daughter: the Emperor anſwereth that in

caſe he would but shew a countenance to haſten forwarde theſe affayres, hee might then ſoone perceaue that thys was but a meere dalliance: To be briefe, the Pope ſo earneſtly vrged the king in theſe matters, that the deputies were in ſmall time after ſent with full auctoritye to contract and diſpatche all theſe affayres, whych done, the agreementes were ſoone paſſed, wherein vnto thys mariage of *Katherine* were for her dowry ſecreatly aſſigned vpon a vayne and pernicious hope, the Duchies of *Millan* and *Vrbine* which the Pope would helpe for to recouer, with the cities and ſeignioryes of *Parma*, *Placentia* and *Modena*, that he should adde vnto the aforeſayde by meanes of other ſmall aſſurance, of which enterpriſes wee could neuer reape other commoditie in *France* then ruine and deſtruction, and yet before the talke of this mariage, Pope *Clement* had by all means diſſwaded the king from all practiſes touching theſe enterpriſes.

Guicciardine. lib. 15 & 16.

The Emperour abuſed.

The Emperour thus by his owne deuiſe found him ſelfe greatly deceaued, & hereupon began to doubt leaſt this mariage should procure ſome alteration in *Italy*, wherefore he ſent to ſollicite the Pope of

his

his promiſes, and to exhorte hym not to giue eare vnto whatſoeuer the frēch king might propound vnto him, wherunto hee anſwered that Chriſtendō, partly through the multipliyng of the Lutherans, & partly by the reuolt of the king of *England*, was greatly deuided, and therfore that vnto the vniting & reknitting togither of the ſame again, the alliance & auctoritie of ſo great & mighty a king was vnto him moſt neceſſary, alſo that as for this new knot and alliance which he had made, he should not nede to care, for that himſelf was deſirous rather to be an arbitre in their controuerſies & an auctor of peace betwene them, then a procurer or ſupporter of any war, moreouer that he had giuen to the french ſuch a wife, as should ſoner procure troble vnto their own eſtate, thē vnto any other. Theſe his words he paraduēture groūded vpon the predictions of his Aſtrologers, notwithſtanding it might be that he had ſome relation to the nature, as well of hys whole race & family, as alſo perticulerly of himſelf, & thervpon might gather this cōiecture of his niece: But howſoeuer it were, this mariage was finally cōſumate at *Marſeyles* in the year of our Lord, one M. fiue hundred

The reuolt of the king of Englād.

The popes iudgement of his niece

The mary age of Katherine de

Medicis consūmate!

hūdred & three & thirty, wheras the Pope & the king did personally meet & see each other, howbeit *Clement* could neuer thorowly perswade himselfe of this mariage, (by reason of their inequality,) before that he had seene them laid togither in bed

The Pope doubteth of the mariage.

Behold now I pray you & marcke the warnings of the heauens, the prognostications of the astronomers, and finally, the iudgemēt of the pope her own oncle, the auctour of this mariage. Now is shee escaped from the couent, the Canon and the Stewes, and is come very willingly, to be maryed to the sonne of a King of *France*. Here must we therfore consider how well her propheſies be commen to passe and accomplished, also whither in any respect she hath degenerated from the maners & condicions of her ancestors.

It is nedeleſſe in this place to stand vpon her doinges, during her tender age, wherein notwithstanding her youth, shee did shew forth most manifest and euident tokens of her ambicious mind. Nowe therefore to the purpose: It is not vnknowē vnto all men what great & manifest presumptions were gathered againste her, cōcerning the poisoning of the Doul-

The poy-

phine

phine *Frances* being the elder brother vnto her husbād *Henry* thē duke of *Orleance*, neither is her furious enuy (which during his life time, boiled in her ſtomack againſt him, partly for his eldershippe, partly alſo for ſuch his royall vertues as procured vnto him the harty good will of the King his father and of all the nobilitie) buried in obliuion, neither alſo is forgotten the ielouzy which she ſowed betwene the two brethrē, neither yet her familiarity which she ſtill vſed toward thoſe who were ſuſpected for this curſed poyſoning.

ſoning of the Doulphin Frāces

Afterward at what time as my Lord the duke of *Anguien*, by reaſon of his promiſes grew into ſome reputacion, howe couertly was she his enemy, & what fanſyes did ſhe put in her husband *Henry* then Doulphin of *France* his head againſte him, by occaſion of the which *Cornelio di Bentiuoglia* diſpatched him at the ſame time, that she was at the pointe to be repudiated, and ſent home into *Italy*, partly by cauſe of her barrenneſſe, partly alſo by reaſon of ſuch manifeſt tokens as moſt plainly appeared of her wicked nature and froward diſpoſition, wherby shee was forced to winne the Lady *greate*

The murdere of the duke of Anguiē.

Katherin de Medicis at the point to be repudiated, dieth.

Seneſhall

Katherine her husbands baud

Seneshall afterward Ducheſſe of *Valenciens*, to the end to enterteyn her, with my Lord the *Dolphine* her huſband, when as alſo shee was not ashamed to become as it were his baude, prouyded alwayes that shee might thereby atteyne vnto her ententes.

Theſe euils were aſſuredly moſt greeuous aud heynous earneſtes, of ſuch miſchiefes as ſence shee hath committed among vs, and yet are as nothyng, in reſpect of thoſe that shee daily practiſeth and euer haue done, ſince the ſime that shee atteyned vnto the gouernment, and there it is that principally I deſire all men to fixe their eyes, becauſe that accordyng vnto the old ſaying, in regiment and auctoritie, each mans nature is ſoneſt diſcried.

The death of Frances the firſte.

After that King *Henry* by reaſon of the deceaſe of *Frances* the firſt, his father had obteined the crowne, when as his wife *Katherin* had by ſuch meanes as all men doe knowe gotten children; she ſeing her ſelf paſt all daunger of being repudiated and ſent home into *Italie* to her parentes, began to ſet foote and intrude her ſelfe into the gouernmēt, and affaires of the relme, for atteining whervnto she did, as it were,

The extreme deſire of gouernment of katherin de Medicis

preſent

preſent her ſeruice vnto my Lorde the Conſtable of *France* of late memory, hoping by his meanes to gette in, firſte one foote, and then the whole body: VVhereupon my ſayd Lord notwithſtanding he were not therevnto greatly affectionate, did ſometime cáſt forth ſome word vnto King *Henry*, whereby to ſatiſfy this womans importunate requeſte, howbeit hee could neuer receue other then could and doubtfull aunſweres, neuertheleſſe my ſayd Lord ſo proſecuted this ſuite, that finally the King being ſomewhat moued at his importunate ſpeach, made him aunſwere, that he as yet knew not well that womans nature, for, ſayd he euen in theſe wordes, she is the greateſt confounder of all thinges that is in the world, and who ſo granteth vnto her but an entry, she will ſone get wholly in, wheras she will ſpoyle and bring all out of frame.

king Henry his opinion of his wife katherine.

Notwithſtanding this the Kinges own opinion of her, yet could he not ſo well loke vnto her, but that during his voyage into *Germany* she ſet in foote, albeit for ſo short a ſpace and with ſo good a bridle, that at that time the common welth did not greatly feele her, conſidering alſo that

accor-

according to the nature of her natiue cō-
trey, she would in ſmall trifles shew ſome
proofe of good huſwifry, to the end shee
might afterward atteine vnto matters of
greater importance, and beſides that shee
feared to bring men out of conceipt of
her gouernment, at the firſte beginning
The death of Henry the ſecond King *Henry* being deceaſed, (whome shee
did not long bewaile) *Frances* his eldeſt
ſonne came to the crowne, who greatly fa-
uored the Lordes of *Guiſe*, onkles vnto his
wife, the Queene of *Scottes*, in whome alſo
he repoſed all truſt of his moſte weighty
affaires: But they made no great accompt
of *Katherin de medicis*, neither graunted
they vnto her any farther dealinges in the
gouernment then needes they muſt, for
ſayd they, it is an eaſier matter and more
conuenient for to shet the gate before her
comming in, then after her entry, to
thruſt her out againe: Hearevpon shee
perceauing the princes of the blood ſome
what remooued, and diuers of the offi-
cers of the crowne ſcarce well pleaſed,
determyned ſo much as shee myght to ſet
the on a hete, by meanes of this gouernmēt
& ſo to let her ſelf in, vnder pretēce of be-
coming an vmpiere in this differēte,

Firſte

Firſt therefore ſhee addreſſed her ſelfe vnto the late ducheſſe of *Monpenſier*, a wiſe lady, whome aboue al other she ſemed for fauoure. Vnto this good Lady did she complain that the gouernmēt of the realme was taken from the princes of the blood, who were the lawfull adminiſtrators of the ſame, and was now tranſferred vnto ſtraungers: Alſo that my Lorde the duke of *Mommorency* Conſtable of *Fraunce* and his childrē were put back, yea and his neuewes of *Chaſtillion*) whoſe party shee as thē ſeemed gretly affectionate vnto) were nothinge accoumpted of, moreouer what ſmall auctorytie was nowe lefte vnto the officers of the crowne in recompence of theire great ſeruices, yea and which was as vntolerable as the reſt, what ſmal accoūt was made of her ſelfe being both wife and mother of kinges, was plainely ſeene, and to be breife, she termed the gouernmente of the Lordes of *Guiſe* in expreſſe vvordes no other then a tirannous vſurpation and entry vnto the poſſeſſion of the crovvn, vnder coulor of ſucceſſion in the right & title of *Charlemaigne* with the deſtruction of the greateſt men, and extinguishinge of thoſe which wer in chefeſt auethority.

Firſt therefore shee addreſſed her ſelfe vnto the late ducheſſe of Monpenſier, a wiſe lady, whome aboue al other she ſemed for fauoure. Vnto this good Lady did she complain that the gouernmēt of the realme was taken from the princes of the blood, who were the lawfuil adminiſtrators of the ſame, and was now tranſferred vnto ſtraungers: Alſo that my Lorde the duke of Mommorency Conſtable of Fraunce and his childrē were put back, yea and his neuewes of Chaſtillion) whoſe party shee as thē ſeemed gretly affectionate vnto) were nothinge accoumpted of, moreouer what ſmall auctorytie was nowe lefte vnto the officers of the crowne in recompence of theire great ſeruices, yea and which was as vntolerable as the reſt, what ſmal accoūt was made of her ſelfe being both wife and mother of kinges, was plainely ſeene, and to be breife, she termed the gouernmente of the Lordes of Guiſe in expreſſe vvordes no other then a tirannous vſurpation and entry vnto the poſſeſſion of the crovvn, vnder coulor of ſucceſſion in the right & title of Charlemaigne with the deſtruction of the greateſt men, and extinguishinge of thoſe which wer in chefeſt auethority.

nall of the tumults of Amboyſe

Thus

Thus ſeemed she to haue ben ſette on by ſome earneſt zeale vnto the common welth: she knew alſo that the dutcheſſe of *Monpenſier* dyd greatly fauour the *Lutherans* opinions, for that toward the ende of the reigne of King *Henry* he had detected a great nomber of that ſect in *France*, who ſeemed to be ſupported by ſome of the Princes of the blood, towardes whom she would now ſeeme to miſlike of ſuche rygors as were vſed againſt them: she deſyred to here the principles of theyr Relygion: she is very earneſt to be enſtructed in their opinions: she commendeth her ſelfe vnto their conſiſtories, and fynally she promiſeth vnto thē all ayd & fauour as if she ſought nothing ſo much as their aduancement.

the Lutherans ſupported by ſome princes of the fauorable blood.

The dutches of *Monpenſier* at hier inſtāce communicated all her ſayinges vnto the king of *Nauare* & vnto the prince of *Cōde*, she diſcloſed the ſame alſo vnto my late Lorde the Conſtable, by the meanes of *Charles de Marrillac* archbiſshop of *Vienna*, not concealing it neyther from many other noble Lords and valiaunt gentlmen, who ſemed to haue ſome intereſt in the ſame, and therefore had cauſe not to o-

mitte

mitte ſo good an occaſion, but to harken therevnto, and willingly alſo would haue ſeene ſo high an attempt and notable enterpriſe brought vnto a good ende: Neuertheleſſe they knowing what occaſion mooued the Queene to enter into this deuice, conſidering alſo her troubleſome nature, ſubiect to procure alteracion in al thinges, would not venture at her aduowe and vpon her peril to medle ther withal, & ſo shewed themſelues not gretly moued with the ſame.

Howbeit the fame of ſo earneſt deſire as she ſeemed to haue, to fauoure or ſupporte an alteracion ſounded in ſo many mens eares, that finally ſome of them concluded therevppon to take occaſion, whereof proceeded the enterpriſe of *Amboyſe* conducted by two ſeuerall ſortes of people. The one, of thoſe who miſlyked the gouernement, the other of *Lutherans*, which were not content with ſuche extreme dealinges as were practiſed againſt them, but generally either of them emboulden̄ed by ſuch fauour as they loked for at her handes, in caſe they coulde by any meanes diſplace the Lordes of *Guiſe* from all gouernemente: But the iſſue

who were partakers in the tumoults of Amboyſe.

of this enterprise was (as al men do know) very vnfortunate vnto the attempters of the same. She therefore seing this practise haue no better succesle, determined vvith her selfe wholy to frame her doinges vnto the orders of the Lordes of *Guise*, and to accommodate her selfe vnto theyr pleasures, bicanse they were so setled in the gouernment, that they could by no meanes be displaced, & therefore she thought it better to win theyr fauors. She was then the first & most vehement, that cryed out against these men, vvhich in hope of her support had hazarded themselues: She feigned that she dyd beleue them to haue conspired againste her owne person: She would needes be present at theyr executions, therby to let all men know that she allowed of the same: yea the greatlyer to satisfye theyr humors, and to please and content theyr myndes by all meanes possible, she with her fayre wordes, so far won the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, as to procure him to allure his owne brother the Prince of *Conde* to come vnto the courte, whereas he was immediatly committed vnto prison: Shee concluded and confirmed moste secreat and strayght amitie with the Cardi-

The euell succesle causeth her to change her copy.

Katherine curryeth fauor with the house of Guise.

The execution of the rebels of. Amboyse.

The prise of Conde prisoner

nall.

nall of *Lorreyne*, who had chiefeſt dealings in all matters: It is not alſo vnknowen to the whole world, by what meanes she procured the empriſonment of the Vidam of *Charters* in cloſe priſon, onely bicauſe he ſeeinge her aſsiſt at the execution of thoſe whome her ſelfe before had ſette on work, cryed out that she would be the deſtruction of this kingedome: To be briefe, she ſought ſo many meanes to gratifie them with all, that she was nothinge ashamed to propound, that it were no reproch or iniury vnto the royall blood of France, to permit after the firſt prince of that blood, the chiefeſt prince of *Lorreyn* to follow, after the ſecond of France, the ſecond of *Lorreyn* and ſo of the reſt conſequently, an enterpriſe which I dare vvel aſſure my ſelfe, the Lordes of *Guiſe* would neuer haue practiſed, all which her drifts dyd tend onely vnto the obteining of the regiment of our kingedome, which aboue all thinges she deſired.

The emprisonment of the Vidame of Chartres.

Katherine ſeketh to compare the houſe of Lorreyn with the blood of France.

Here may you behould as it ſeemeth the whole originall and occaſion of the fyrſt tumoultes, which afterward became in effect the ſeede of the reſt.

Sone after theſe thinges *Frances* dyed,

The death of Frances the second.

after whome succeded his brother *Charles* the ninth, beyng betweene eleuen and twelue yeares of age, a Prynce surely of hym self of a good dyspoſition, had not she practiſed al menes to corrupt his tender youth. During his mynoritie she attempted the regiment, which neuer the lesse she much doubted of, by reaſon of the King of *Nauarre*, a mā of good yeres & the firſt prince of the blood next vnto the kinges brothrē, who were but infants: for she fered leſt he would take vpon him the regiment which in deede was his right & that he would leue her no part therin. One thing ther was alſo, which cauſed her the more to doubte thereof, and that was, for that she plainly perceaued hym very well to agree with the duke of *Mommorency* Conſtable of *Fraunce* and with his neuewes, the Lordes of *Chaſtillion* and with others the officers of the crowne.

The practiſe of Katherine de Medicis to atteyne to gouerne iointli with the king of Nauar.

Katherine winneth the nobility

Howbeit finally she founde meanes to winne him, by shewing her ſelf greatly affectionate vnto the iuſtification and deliuerāce of his brother the prince of *Conde*, who all this time remained priſoner: She alſo procured the wining of the houſe of *Chaſtilion* throgh the meanes of the duches

of

of *Monpenſier*: who toke paines & trauailed ſimply in full hope to aduãnce and ſet forwarde her religion, whearevnto a few yeares before they had ioyned themſelues: Finally she atteined vnto the Conſtables fauour by the help of his neuewes the Lords of *Chaſtillion*, whom then he fauored and in moſt matters beleeued: in ſo much that the King of *Nauarre*, partly of his own motion, and partly through the counſell of ſome of his frends: (as naturally he was eaſy to be intreated, being peraduẽture more geuẽ vnto his own eas thẽ vnto any care or regarde of the common welth) did ſone agre & cõdiſcẽd vnto her in this point, that iointly they should together gouern, & diſpoſe of the affaires of the kingdom, namely the queen & be by the aduice & coũſel of the princes of the blod, with other the officers of the crown & the cheſe coũſellers of the relm: In this particiõ had she aſuredly wõ much, which al neuertheles in her mĩd ſemed as nothig by reaſon shee coulde beare no equalitie but needes would gouerne wholy alone. Afterward for a while they continewed the aſſembly of the eſtates, begonne in the time of *Frances* the ſeconde, whearein

shee so well played her parte, that she obteyned her whole purpose: Notwithstandinge that in the particuler estates of the prouinces the whol and absolute regimēt was deferred vnto the king of Nauarre: & this was her politicke guile.

The practise of Katherin for to win the Protestāts whereby she may rule alone.

The king af Nauarre secretly fauored the protestantes, of whome at that time there was in Frāce a great number, yea & those that there were, seemed in deede mo:e thē the truth was, by reason as well of the generall dispersion of them in moste partes of the realme, as also of the great nomber of gentlemen, who dayely ioyned themselues vnto that kinde of professed religion: which she perceauinge, dyd also, secreatly take them in a maner vnto her protection, and that so farre as they had greater recourse vnto her, then vnto him, as vnto one of whome they reaped more support: Moreouer shee gaue out openly to vnderstand, that she found not theyr opinions euell: She caused diuers persons who of longe tyme had bene accompted Lutherās to preach before her, as the Bishop of *Valentia*, and *Butler*, vvith others: Shee listened very attentiuely vnto the reading of Peter Martirs writinges

Katherins great fauour toward the Protestāts

vpon

vpon the chefe poyntes of religion at this time in controuerſie, whereat ſundry Catholickes began to be offended: yea which is moſt of all, ſhe ſecretly commoned with diuers of the moſt apparāt of their miniſters: She read their declarations & ſmal treatiſes: She willingly receaued their requeſts & ſupplicatiōs: She promiſed vnto thē all ſpedy aduancemēt in their affaires, She recōmēded her ſelf vnto their cōgregations and conſiſtories: She dyd cauſe to deliuer vnto them money, wherewithal to fetch vp miniſters out of all contreyes vn to the conuocation & diſputation at *Poyſye*: Yea she geueth them to vnderſtande that shee is minded to procure the kinge her ſonne and my Lordes her children to be diligently enſtructed in their religion: VVherefore I doe now leaue vnto all aſſured Catholickes to iudge and conſider what an enterpriſe this was, ſeing that the Proteſtantes had at all tymes bene condemned by all kinges her predeceſſors, & had not as yet obteined any Edict wherin the free libertye of theyr Religion vvas permitted vnto them.

These were her ſleightes vvherewithall

she wonne the Prince of *Conde*, the three brethren of *Chastillion* and all other persons which wished for any reformation or chaunge in Relygyon, yea shee seemed so earnest hearein, that thay all affirmed that shee had done more for them then the King of *Nauarre*, wherefore in all their suites and affaires, they had recourse vnto her rather then vnto hym: But in the meane time she discontinewed not her wonted good countenaunce and smothe lookes vnto all the world behind their backes, affirming vnto the catholickes, that al her driftes and shiftes tended only vnto the auoiding of dissention & deuisiõs, as, to say the truth, she forced not what religiõ were established, or abolished, so that she might attein vnto her purpose, whych was, vnto the regiment.

Katherin: lulleth the king of Nauar on sleepe.

Moreouer knowing the dispositiõ & nature of the king of *Nauar*, she entertained him to her power in all courtlike pleasures, in so much that he craving the fauour of one of her Ladies named the Lady *de la Roüet*, her self comanded the sayd lady, not to refuse him of any requeste which he might make vnto her, but to his

power

power to satisfy hī, to the end that of him selfe forgetting the affayres of the realme, he might encurre the displeasure and hatred of all men, and thus by these meanes and deuises she brought her purpose to passe. To be briefe, shee labored so sore, that notwithstanding the exceptions of diuers of the deputies of the estates, founded vpon the auctority of the *Salicque* lawe and the euil succesſe of the regiment of women in this kingdom, yet she through, as well the necligence and reachlesnesse of the king of *Nauarre*, who condiscended therevnto, as also by reason the sayde deputies waxed more slacke, because they sawe howe small accompt the sayd king made thereof, the whole gouernemente was deferred vnto the Queene, as vnto the person who especially ought to procure the profit of the king her sonne, and the honor of his estate, and so consequently of the whole kingdome, accordyng vnto the dutie of each naturall mother. The admirall *de Chastillion*, and the Lord *de la Mortier* had shee chosen, to be the speakers and motioners hereof vnto the estates, who finally were recompenced for their paynes accordingly, euen as all others, who haue

Katherine obteyned the whole gouernmēt

done any seruice vnto the family of *de Medicis* namely the one with death, the other with malice and hatred. Here maye you plainly perceue how for her own priuate lucre she fauored the protestantes, whom by her coũtenãcig she caused first to multiply in this realme, embouldening them to preach publikely, and to come out of such corners as before they hid thẽselues in, and so to shewe themselues both in Cittie and contrey, which she did not for any greater affection which she bare vnto their religion, thẽ vnto any other, as since it hath manifestly appeared, but only to the end to withdraw the protestants from her competitor the King of *Nauarre*, and to say the truth, she was the occasion and procurer of the edict of Ianuary, whiche permitted vnto them the free excercise of their religion, in the suburbes of al the cheife cities in the kingdom, which hath bene the principall foundation, of theire iustifycation concerning these ciuill wars: Yea and after this edict, at what time the protestantes of *Roan* for theyre obedyence sake, withdrew them selues into the suburbes vnto their sermons, she certified thẽ that she misliked of this their humble

Katherin a counterfeate protestant.

The iustification of the protestãts wars.

submission

ſubmiſſion, aleaging that they shold haue taried within the wales vnto ſuch time as they had ben either entreated or els forced to depart, for becauſe, ſaid she, this their ſo great facility and lenitie mighte in tyme to come, bee preiudyciall vnto them.

The Queene hauing now obteined the regimente, thought not that to be ſufficient, for that she could not abide any controulers: my late Lord the conſtable was wont ſomewhat to coole her, The Lords of *Guiſe* during the reigne of *Fraunces* the ſecond had kept her vnder, she muſt now therfore needes ſeke ſome extraordinary menes to expell them out of the counſel, which she practiſed thus.

Katherins practiſe wherby to expell the Conſtable and the lordes of Guiſe oute of the counſell.

The eſtates were greatly abashed and wondred to ſee ſo many debts as the King was runne into, conſydering what ſums the late kings had exacted of their ſubiectes: faine would they haue called thoſe to accomptes, who in the aforeſayd kinges dayes had the whole affayres in their own hãds: They willingly alſo would haue reſerched ſuch exceſſiue gifts as had ben grãted: But for ſo much as therin they shold haue to do with the mightieſt, and

could

could not procure these accomptes and researches, without greuing & molesting my sayd Lord the Constable, the Lordes of *Guise*, and the Marshall of S. *Andrewes*, who during the reignes of the late kinges had borne chiefe sway and auctority, they durst not enterprise so waighty a matter without some notable support: which the Queene perceauing, she sollicited them to make inquisition, promising vnto them all ayde and assistance, in so reasonable a request. These her fayre promises so farre allured them, that they purposed speedely to call to accomptes the administrators of the realme during the reygne of the kinges aforesayd: yea and that before some suche notable and graue persons, as the hole assembly of estates should depute, whereas also during the giuing vp of this accompt, such as should bee found parties in the same should for that tyme be excluded the counsaill.

The nobilitie called to accompt

This in her opinion seemed a match wel made, whereunto shee made priuy the Prince of *Conde* with others: shee also did conclude a match with the said Prince and the Lordes of *Chastillion*, and with all the protestantes in *France*, who by reason of

Katherins league against the kinge of Nauarre.

such

ſuch fauour as she ſtill shewed vnto them, ſeemed wonderfully, euen in view, to multiply. But marke what happened: At the ſelfe ſame tyme there was an other match made, which was this.

Katherine the original cauſe of the firſt troubles.

The King of *Nauarre* beganne to perceaue that during the purſuite of his loue, the Queene had almoſt vnhorſed hym, (and this was all that hys counſaill could beat into his head) wherby he now finally beganne to ſee his owne folly and in earneſt to ſnuffe & be greued heareat, purpoſing to hinder her deuiſes: Afore time he was for the moſt parte gouerned by the lordes of *Chaſtillion*, whom now he diſdayneth, as in parte, the procurers of the Queenes gouernment, and therfore openly defieth them as his vtter enemyes: He had before tyme without cauſe, chaſed from the court the Marshall of S. *Andrewes*, for certayne griefes which hee pretended to be done vnto him duryng the reigne of *Francis* the ſeconde, whom now (becauſe he ſaw him out of the Queenes fauour) he calleth agayne and ioyneth vnto him. The Duke of *Guiſe* alſo duryng theſe broyles, beinge ſcarce well pleaſed with ſuche ſmall regarde as was had of

The league of the french nobilitie againſt katherine.

him,

him and misliking such reckoninges as nowe after his manifoulde seruices, hee was called vnto, determined not to omitte so fitte an occasion: VVherevpon hee, with the rest of the Lordes of his familie beganne to put the king of *Nauarre* in hope of the kingdome of *Sardaigne* in recompence of his realme of *Nauarre*: assuring him moreouer to deale wyth the Pope, concerning the aduowe of the diuorce which he entended from his wyfe, and then to procure vnto him the mariage of their Neice the Queene of *Scottes*: About the same time also *Francis Baldwin* the renowmed lawyere came vnto hym who restrained him from all chaunge of religion, wherevnto he was before bent, whearby you might sone after perseaue all his auncient hatred towarde the famylie of *Guise* quite extinguished, and the protestantes religion vtterly habandoned. The Constable also, perceiuing howe the protestantes daylie encreased and howe diuers soughte meanes to dispatche him, determined presently to take order for the same, as well by reason of such affection as he pretended to owe vnto the church of *Rom.* for that he was

Baldwin the lawyer

lincally

lineally discended of the first Christian King in *France*, as also to fortefy him selfe against the practises of the queen, & therfore he did the more straightly ally him self vnto the king of *Nauarre*, & agree all differēces betwene him self and the lords of *Guise*: By this meanes was sone seene another match betwene the king of *Nauar*, the constable, the Lordes of *Guise*, and the Marshall of S. *Andrewes*, whereby to oppose them selues vnto the doinges and gouernmēt of the queen, who wēt about to abase & bring thē to noght, also against the encresing of the protestāts, whom she mainteined. These matches beeing thus made you might sone haue sene good sport, & practisig who might first becom masters of Paris and of the court. The queen caused the Prince of *Conde* to draw towardes Paris accompanied with diuers gentle men his frendes: but the Constable folowed on after, who through his credit & auctority in the city, did quikly becom master therof: she willed the *prince* of *Conde* to admonish his frēdes to come vnto the court, & to remain nere about the kings parsō: howbeit the lords of *Guise* came before thē, and so kept thē a loofe of: This whē the queen doth behold, shee wepeth

The Constables taking king of Paris.

shee lamenteth: she also taketh it greuously, that the king her sonne and her selfe were now become prisoners vnto those, who before practised to haue stolen away and conueyed her second sonne into *Lorreyn*: She writeth vnto the Prince of *Conde* to take weapon in hand: she desireth hym to take charge of both the mother and children: she hartely besecheth him not to permit them to be miserably deteyned in prison, with diuers other suche lyke requestes & exhortations, which al, so farre moued him, that finally being by her letters auctorised, he put him selfe into *Orleance*, he tooke many townes by the aduow and perswasions of her lamentations, and he also gathereth togither his frendes, causing them to put on armure in all partes of the realme: Hereby it plainly appeareth, that had it not bene by her procure-

Katherine occasion of the risinge of the prince of Conde & of the Admirall.

ment, neyther the Prince of *Conde*, ne yet the house and familie of *Chastillion*, euer would, or else at any time durst, haue delt in these affaires: and yet when she perceued the princes power to weake to release her, and the kinges presence greatly to strengthen the aduersary, leauing her former frendes in the bryers, she quietly fra-

med

med her ſelfe to temporiſe and ſerue the time, and therefore offered to become vm pier betwene both parties, howbeit in the meane tyme she diſcontinewed not her wonted meſſages vnto the prince of *Conde*, neither deſiſted from her ſecreat letters and cloſe enterpriſes, in termes quite repugnaunt vnto her outward ſpeaches or publicke letters wrytten in the fauour of the Catholickes: Shee alſo ſtill deſireth him f[illegible] to perſiſt in his former dealinges, aſſuring him, ſo to perſwade the Kinge of this his ſo faythful ſeruice, that during his lyfe he should neuer forget the ſame. She vvarneth him not to take houlde of any letter which either the king or hir ſelf shal be forced to wryte vnto him, for that in ſuch reſpectes theyr wylles be with theyr bodies captiuated: Yea she procedeth ſo farre, as that once she was minded to haue conueyed both her ſelfe and the king vnto *Orleance*, had not the Lord of *Sarlan* who now is her chiefe ſtewarde perſwaded her vnto the contrary: Vpon theſe occaſions the Prince of *Conde* remayned ſtedfaſt in his firſt determination: Theſe doinges confirmed his authoritie, enterteyned hys forces, and procured vnto him ayde bothe

Katherine ſought to flee to Orleans.

of men and money, out of *Germany* and other places: The aduow of these letters, testifiing that he was armed for the deliue ry of the King out of danger, and that by the Kinges expresse commaundement, haue caused vs to smarte, insomuch that whereas before wee might indifferently haue growen to some agrement and ende, shee hath by these deuises now prolonged the warres, and wonderfully whetted & hardned the hartes of men, one against an other. At this poynt did she still remayne, mayntayning the Catholickes with good countenances, and the protestantes with effectes, vntill the time that the King of *Nauarre* her competitour was slayne at the siege of Roan, vvhose deathe was vvounderful pleasaunt vnto her: and as nothinge is more rooted in her heart then ambition, euen so did his death cause her presently to change copie.

The death of the king Nauarre

Hetherto haue you seene how good a countenance she hath shewed vnto Religion, naming her selfe a Protestant, onely for enuy conceaued against the Kinge of *Nauarre*: but now shall you see her sodenly become as vehement a catholicke, to spite the prince of *Conde*. So longe as her com-

Katherins alteracion of religion.

petitor

petitor the king of *Nauarre* liued and enioyed the regiment; so longe dyd she fauour his brother the Prince of *Conde* against him, and so consequently the Protestantes, of whome hee was chiefe: But now shee seeth her selfe by his death deliuered from all feare of him, by meanes whereof, she may without controulement gouerne the Catholickes as seemeth best to her selfe: Moreouer then that, she also perceauinge the prince of *Conde* to be the next of the blood, and so consequenly neareste vnto the regimente, fearing least he shold waxe to stronge for her, she immediatly quareleth with him about gouernment: shee becommeth his vtter ennemye, she writeth her letters vnto him in fare other stile and wordes, then thre dayes before she had done. VVhereas before she had procured him to take armes in her defence, whereby hee was accompted as a manifest ennemye vnto all the greate princes and chiefest Lordes of the Realme, and hadde also incurred greate displeasure, and was become odious vnto the vvhole kingdome of *Fraunce*, shee now willeth him in any wise to desist from his purpose and entent, and commaundeth

Katherine agaynst the prince of Conde.

him to forsake these cities which he beefore had taken: Also in cace of his refusall of these her commaundementes, shee denounceth against him open warre euen vnto outrance, notwithstanding that before her selfe had beene author of his enterprises and fauorer of his armes. To be briefe, her whole deuises tende onely, by meanes of the Catholickes, vtterly to subuert his townes, and destroy his parson, & so by their mutuall rencontres to spoyle both parties, & by ouercomming the protestantes, so farre forth as she may to enfeeblish the catholickes.

Katherine seketh to poyson the prince of Conde.

First therefore to dispatch the Prince of *Conde*, she causeth him to be presẽted with an apple empoisoned by a *Millaner* named maister *Rene* her perfumer, which (had not his Surgeon called *le Grosse* misdoubtinge it by reason of the place from whence it came plucked out of his hande and smelled vnto, whereby presently was procured an exeding swelling in his whole face,) vndoubtedly had dispatched him: for a dogg vnto whome they gaue the paringes and part of the same with bread, dyed presently in the place: But she seinge this deuice take no place, continued still the warres

Katherine maintey-

against

against him, contrary vnto the coũsayle & aduice of all such Lordes & capteines, as had any charge in conductinge of the armye, but especially of my Lorde the constable and the Lordes of *Guyse*, vvho dyd in a maner smell out all her determinations. At this tyme she procured the bloody battayle of *Dreux* vnto the vvonderfull detriment of the whole kingdom, vvherein her selfe onely wonne the field. The Catholickes on theyr side lost the Lorde *de Annebault*, the marshall of saint Andrewes, vvith many other gentlemen bothe of name and fame. The Protestantes lost but fewe men of any countenance. The Realme onely lost all those Lordes and gentlemen whose deathes the Queene accompted vnto her self a gayne. The catholickes brought the Prince of *Conde* prisoner, vvhom they dyd commit into her handes. The Protestantes also toke prisoner the Duke of *Mommorency*, highe constable, vvhome aboue all other she feared by reason of his free and playn speech. Now then there remained no more but the Duke of Guise, of vvhome she would gladly be dispatched. Him therefore brought shee vnto the siege of Orle-

neth warre contrary to her counsails minde

The battayle of Dreux

The Price of Conde prisoner

The Constable prisoner.

ance, wherin vvas generall the Lord *de Andelot*, with ſo valiãt a crew of men, that she could not take it, vvithout greate loſſe of her ſouldiers & capteynes, vvhich in deed vvas the principall gayne that thereby she hoped of. In the meane tyme it ſo fell out, that one *Poltrot* ſlew the Duke of *Guiſe* in maner as all the world knoweth: of whoſe death vvhither she vvere more glad or ſory, the brothren of this poore lord might manifeſtly perceaue, euen in that, that her ſelf could not forbear frõ ſaying vnto the prince of *la Rochſuryone*, that by his death she had loſt one of the men vvhom in the vvorld she moſt hated: Vnto the Prince of *Conde* alſo, (at that tyme her priſoner,) ſaying that by this mans death, the kingedome was diſcharged of a great burthen, she answered thus: If the kigdom be eaſed of one intollerable charge, ſo is my heart of more then tenne: This was the recompẽce of all his greate labours & trauailes: This thanckes reaped he at her handes, for loſing his lyfe at her commaundement: This good will may his children be inheritors vnto: This reward belongeth vnto all ſuch as tranayle in her affaires, the like whereof, we all may attend at her handes:

The duke of Guiſe ſlayne.

The recompence of the duke of Guiſes ſeruice.

Gladly

Gladly would she haue bene reuenged & vtterly ouerthrowen the proteſtants: The Admirall ſtopped her: he was to ſtronge for hir: he was chief gouernor, & maſter of *Normandy*: he had payde his reiſtres: & dyd leade them towarde Orleance in full pur poſe to giue her battayl: But she now had no more captaynes left, which were of any coũtenance or auctority to withſtād him, wherby it was to be feared leſt she should haue bene forced to yelde the prince of *Conde*, who paraduenture would afterward haue taken vpon him the regiment: wher vpon she forcaſting what might enſue, de termined to conclud a peace with them & ſo to attend ſome more conuenient time and occaſion to be diſpatched of the reſt. In the meane time, during his impriſone-mēt the prince of *Conde* was becom enamo red of the lady *Liniueil* one of the Quenes maidēs, whom she had giuen him, to paſſe away his time, and to ſport him ſelf withal (for ordinareli she vſed mani honeſt prac tiſes & deuices wherby to atteyn vnto hir purpoſe & entēt:) which notwithſtāding yet was he wery of his empriſonment & ſo was my Lord the conſtable: wherupon very ſodeynly shee concluded the peace,

The Admirall to ſtronge for Katherine

Peace concluded.

Katherines practiſes to atteyne to hir purpoſe

yea in ſuche haſt, that ſhe permitted not the prince, tyme to common of the ſame eyther by letter or mouth vvith the Admirall, vvhich was expreſſely done, to the ende that men might attribute the whole occaſion of all the former warres (as already moſt men beganne to gather therof) vnto the Lordes of Guiſe, whereby they might beare the vvhole blame therof, ſeing the peace ſo ſone concluded after his deceaſe throughout the whole kingedome.

The lords of Guiſe made authors of all the troubles

In this place was the free exerciſe of their Religion granted vnto the Proteſtantes, although not in ſo ample maner as by the edicte of Ianuary it was permitted: Their ryſing and taking of armes vvas alſo iuſtifyed and aduowed, and they r ſtraungers paide out of the kinges treaſure: VVheras alſo the Englishmen were determyned to withhould Newhauen, it was recouered by an army aſſembled both of catholikes and Proteſtantes, vvhereat both the king, the Queene mother, and the Prince of *Conde* were perſonally preſent, euery man endeuoring to ſhew his enemy, vvith how good a vvill he entended to doe his prince ſeruice.

The ſiedge of Newhauen.

At

At the retorne from Newhauen she caused to proclaime the king her ſonnes maioritie, who was betwene fouretene and fiueteene yeares of age, notwithſtanding many ſuppoſed it to be to ſone, & vtterly repugnant vnto all ancient examples: But to what entent she did it, it was eaſy to gather: For the prince of Cõde had shewed ſom liklihood that he determined to take vpõ him the gouernment, as the nereſt of the blood whervnto she had oppoſed his brother the *Cardinall* of *Bourbon*, aleadging that notwithſtanding he had takẽ degrees and were beneficed in the church, yet did the regimẽt belong as much vnto him as to his brother. Howbeit to the ende to take frõ the prince all occaſiõs of farther ſpech, from the mighty al menes to withſtand her practiſes, and generally, from all men all cauſes of requiring that the eſtates might be holden, according to the order taken during the kinges minoritie, that they should neuer be delayed aboue frõ two yeres vnto two yeres, she (as is ſaid) proclaimed his maioritie, vnder coulore wherof she might ſtill rule & gouerne in his name whom she might force & command to do or ſay whatſoeuer vnto her ſemed

The king Charles maiority proclaimed

ſemed moſt cõueniẽt: which did apere the next day by ſuch imperiall wordes as she procured him to pronounce vnto the che feſt euen vnto the Deputies of the eſtates, where as neuertheleſſe, other our kinges his predeceſſors, euẽ in their maiorities, ne uer thought or accoumpted their regiments ſurely eſtablished, withoute the conſent and auctority of their principall officers as well of armes as of iuſtice. After this foundation layd, she proceded on in her building, by ſeeking meanes to deminish the auctority of the kinges priuy counſell by whome all notable affaires of our eſtate haue vſually ben gouerned: She vſed alſo to hould petty counſels in the eares of two or three perſons of ſimple reputation, whome after the maner of her oncle Clemẽt she moſt hartely loued for her cheife and ſecreteſt affayres: namely with the lord du Peron, who not long before had ben clarck to one of the purueyers of the campe, and ſoone after became maſter of the kinges warderobe, but nowe is created one of the Marshalls of Frãce: whileſt in the meane time the king did make no accoumpt of any his affaires eyther great, either ſmall, therin reſẽbling

Katherins petty counſailes.

a domb perſō in a ſtage play, who ſerueth for nothing but to walke vpon the ſtage, neither ſpeaketh more then is whiſpered into his eares: as in deede she was loth that therin he shold attein to the knowlege of any more: but rather like, as in his chyldhode at his cōming to the crown she permitted him, forſaking his ſcholemaſter, to paſſe away his time with a top & a ſcorge ſtick (being but euell prognoſticatiōs) & to haūt nothing but Cokpits, euē ſo now she ēdeuoreth cōtrary vnto his diſpoſitiō & nature to corupt his youth, cauſig him to be intiſed by baudes, whom she placeth next vnto his owne perſon: yea her ſelf is not ashamed to become his baude, like as she had bene vnto the king of Nauar and the prince of Conde, all which her practiſes tended only vnto the cauſyng of him to forget his own affairs & to the making of him dronken in al delites, as moſt men do know it, and my ſelfe do in hart abhor to write any more of the ſame: For she ſo lulled him in theſe aforeſayde pleaſures, that he neuer came vnto counſell but by importunate ſuite of diuers, who miſlyked his lewde bringing vp. To bring the Prince of Conde alſo into obloquye

The kīges bringing vp

The kinge corrupted by bawdes

Katherine ſeketh to

and

diffame the prince of Conde.

and sclander among his frēds, she stil entertained him at the cost of Liniuels honor who therby became gret with child: for the which, whē the queen sett a fair face on the matter, was beginning to reproue her: she was so malepart as to make answere that herein she had but followed her exāple & fulfilled her cōmandemēt. My lord the cōstabl semed in a maner the only ouerthrower & confounder of most her practises & deuises: For he hauing so long before born sway, could not now abyde to see her gouern al things without his aduice or opiniō: much lesse would he cōdiscēd vnto most of her demands & requests which highly displeased her ambitius nature: yet nothing so much troubled her mind, as to se the lords of *Chastillio* the constabls neuewes in his fauour, notwithstanding their difference in religiō: Also that throughout al France the gentlmen both catholickes and protestantes, & the cōmon people did now by means of this peace, greatly reunite & knit themselues togither again, daili forgetting former enmities and rācours proceding of mutuall slaughters committed during the former broyles, for in deede shee feared

The agrement of the Lordes of Chastilion with the Constable greuous vn to katherī.

left

lest that by-meanes of this accord and agreemente, the mightier sorte would oppose themselues againste her regiment, throughe the supporte of the nobilitie: Agayne that the meaner sorte, would by the supporte of the myghtie men endeuour to abolish all taxes and impostes, which dayly she leuied for the mayntenance of her excessiue chardges, wonderfull giftes and intollerable prodigalitie, contrary vnto the tolleraciō of the whole estates, finally that all men in generall woulde withstande the practises of certayne Italyen rascals, who already in wordes possessed her and were at a poyncte to take vppon them the disposyng of both the King and kingdome, and in very deede, many began already to murmure at theire dealinges: But shee who was not ignoraunte, how all thease abuses aforenamed coulde not bee redressed withoute some perfecte reconsylyatyon, also that no reconsilyatyon coulde take place, before that a fewe quiet and peaceable yeares had so passed ouer as that during the same, one mā might be acquainted & enyred with an others condiciōs, determined with her

Italiens about to take vpon them the ordering of the kingdome.

selfe

ſelfe to trouble this peace, which shoulde procure and breede all ſuch quietneſſe as is aforeſaid, and for the bringing of her purpoſes to paſſe, to renewe the aunciente quarels for religion, which otherwiſe wer in a maner quite forgotten and buried in obliuion. To bring theſe maters to effect she procured the king to take vpon him his goodly iorney vnto *Bayonne*, wherein shee ſpente infynite treaſures, vnder colour of cauſing his maieſtie to vyſite his dominions: but in deede her entent was to ſtirre vp the moſte troubleſome and euell diſpoſed perſonnes in each towne and prouince through the whiche shee trauayled: ſome by bribes, and giftes, ſome with honoures, (for in this voyage, to that entent shee created ſondry noble men) and ſome through a blind zeale vnto religion, for the rooting oute of the proteſtantes, her voyage alſo tended in part to conſulte wyth the Duke D' *Alba* concerning the meanes howe yet once againe to moleſt this realme, wherein I do leaue vnto all mens iudgementes whyther that ſo auncient, and capytall an enemy of the crowne of France, would refraine from opening vnto her, notable

The kings progreſſe vnto Bayon

Katherins practices during her iorney.

Katherin conſulteth with the Duke of Alba.

pretences

pretences howe to bring our whole kingdome to vtter ſubuertion and decaye.

After her retourne from Bayonne, hauing taken order in all places as shee paſſed for diſpatche of her affaires, shee came vnto Molyns wher as entending ſo far forth as poſsibly she might, to put in practiſe the counſel of the duke *D' Alba*, namely to catch the ſalmons before the Frogs, she dayly ſollicited the *Admiral* & the Lord *d' Andilot* to com vnto the court whereas the Prince of *Conde* at the ſame time ſoiorned, & this did she in ful minde to diſpatch them all at once, howbeit they excuſed them ſelues by their priuate quarels with the Lords of *Guiſe*, and therefore deſired not to be forced to comme into euident daunger of their perſons: but shee immediatly cauled both parties vnto *Molins* aforeſaid, intēding (as she ſaid) to agre thē togither: howbeit in very deede only in hope that at ſome meting, they would one fall out and quarell with an other, & ſo comming vnto handy ſtroks, shew her ſome paſtime? Otherwiſe if that waye would not ſerue, at the leſt, the Admyral should haue no more excuſe whereby to abſent him ſelf frō the court, this agremēt

Katherin ſeketh to bringe the admirall to Molins.

The admirall and the Duke of Guiſe agreed, and to what ende.

being

being once passed betwene them. To bee briefe she fully did perswade her self that this accord coulde atteine vnto no better end, saue onli to conuert their open ennemitie into secret rancour, yea and peraduenture might be the meanes wherby she might be dispatched of one of the parties if not of both: But they came so well accompanyed, besides such support and countenance as my Lorde the Constable did shew vnto them, that they cold by no meanes be entrapped: and from that time forward they continewally found meanes not to be all at once at the court: VVherfore when she found them more circumspect then she would haue wished: shee prosecuted her first determination: and sent into Zuitzerland for syx thousande Zuitzers, vnder coloure to preuente the troupes of the Duke of Alba, which passed along our borders towards Flaunders whereas her full determination was to set vpon the prince of Conde, with the reste of the protestantes on the sudden, for the spaniards wer passed before the Zuitzers came, and besides that whatsoeuer should haue happened, the frenchmen, had bene sufficient to haue resisted and restrayned them

Katherine sendeth for zuitzers against the Protestats

them from doing any harme.

Now after the returne from *Bayon* the Prince of *la Roch ſuryon*, pitying ſuch euels as hee dyd foreſee, ready to lyght vpon this Realme, had reuealed vnto his coſſen the prince of Conde, as well by a meſſenger ſent on purpoſe, as alſo with his owne mouth, euen lyinge vpon his death bedd, the whole diſcourſe of the enterpriſe concluded at *Bayon* againſt him & all the Proteſtantes, affirming that vntil this preſent he had cõcealed it, partly in hope it might haue bene broken of and made voyde by ſome meanes whatſoeuer, partly alſo leaſt him ſelf ſhold haue by reuealing the ſame ſeemed a ſturer vp of new troubles: but now ſeeing that it went ſtill forewarde, he, in diſcharge of his conſcience, dyd reueale the ſame, leaſt himſelfe ſhould through his folly permit the deſtruction of ſo many noble, verteous and honeſt perſons, amonge vvhom alſo, were diuers his neare kinſmen. And to ſaye the truth, he might goe nearer vnto the marck thẽ any other, by reaſon that he had trauayled the whol iorney in her company, and duringe the ſame was of her moſt familier and chiefe allyes: Howbeit after theyr enterpriſe at

The price la Roch-ſuryon diſcloſeth all the determinations of Bayon to the price ſ Conde.

Bayon he considering the consequence of the same, did secretly approch and draw neare vnto the prince of *Conde*, pretending to match him vnto his niece, the Duke of *Neuers* widow, with a great portion of his goodes.

Bourdillõs lamentacion ouer France.

Agayn the Marshall of *Bourdillon* lying at the poinct of death at *Fountayn beleau*. had openly before diuers parsons, reported vn to such of his frendes as came for to visite him, that now death was most welcome vn to him, in that by the same he should bee preuented from seeing suche miseryes as shortly would happen: for sayd he before that sixe monethes bee comen and gone, there will happen suche a confusion thoroughout the vvhole kingdom of France, that no man shal be assured of eyther lyfe or goodes.

These vvere vvonderfull warninges, proceding from two of the chiefest fautors of this enterprise.

A protestant sleepeth in the counsell chamber.

About the time same also that the Zuitzers marched, a poore protestant who was fallen on sleep in the counsayle chamber, vpon a steppe beehinde the hanginges, chanced to heare the meanes debated vpon, how this practise myghte bee put in execution.

execution.

Agayne the counſell of *Trente* was ready to be proclaymed, & the Zuitzers drevve neare vnto the court to beginne the army againſte all ſuche as would not obey the ſame: Moreouer my Lorde the Duke of *Aniow* at the Queenes requeſte, began a dronken or Dutch quarell againſte the Prince of Conde at Sainct Germayns, vvherein hee proceded ſo farre as to ſette hande vnto his dagger, ſcarce permitting vnto the Prince ſo longe reſpite as by flyght to preuent an ambushe layed for him vnder coulor of goinge on huntinge.

The publication of the counſel of Trente.

The Duke of Aniow quareleth with the prince of Conde.

The Prince of *Portian* vvas already poyſoned vvith a peyer of gloues perfumed after maiſter *Rene* his maner, and dayely they fought for menne, meete to practiſe the like Phiſicke towardes the reſte.

The prince of Portian poyſoned.

The Prince of Conde therefore conſideringe all theſe manifeſt tokens of euel will, and perceauinge theyr preparations readye to execute theſe enterpryſes by all meanes poſsible: fullye reſolued with his menne and frendelye companye

The price of Conde determineth to reſiſte.

to take vvepon in hande: For already the moſt part of theyr liberty in Religiō was cut of (as to confeſſe the truthe I knowe not any, vvho ſeinge ſuch preparations, vvould not haue done the like) and for as much as the Queene had diuers tymes geuen to him to vnderſtande that all theſe practiſes, proceeded principally from the Lordes of Guiſe, he determined by force to expell and chace them from the court, and for the ſame purpoſe came towarde *Meaux*, vvhere then the Court laye, from vvhence, vpon the firſt noyſe of his martching, the Lordes of *Guiſe* aforeſayde dyd vvithdraw themſelues: This vvas the originall of our ſecond ciuill warres in thys kingedome. VVe doe reproue the prince of *Conde* and his men for the ſame (My entēt is not herein to excuſe him, for I wold to god he had ſought ſome other means.) But vvho ſo euer doeth conſider in vvhat danger theyr liues conſiſted, in cace they had neuer ſo little refrayned, ſhall of force be compelled to attribute the principall cauſes, vnto the pernicious and vvicked practiſes of the Queene, vvho contrary to the publicke faythe confirmed vvith the kinges owne worde, vvhich ought to bee

The Proteſtantes com before Meaux.

The originall of the ſecond ciuil warres.

euen

euen truth it ſelfe, vvould vtterly haue rooted them out . For lyke as in cace of Combates, he vvhich firſt ſetteth hande to his ſworde is more coulpable then he that firſt ſtriketh: euen ſo in vvarlike affayres, he that firſt breaketh peace, is more blameworthy for all the miſchiefes which the other doeth commit in cace he entendeth fully to obſerue the ſame.

The proteſtantes com before Paris.

The Proteſtantes at theyr remouinge from thence, drewe towardes *Paris*, vvhether the king was gone, wheras after ſundry parlies, ther was a battel fought, in the which many gentlemen of eyther party were ſlayn, from whence alſo my lord the Conſtable caried his deathes wound into *Paris*, whereas (notwithſtandinge that not longe beefore he was fallen out with the prince of *Conde* in a certain parle of peace) & now prouoked again by a ſtripe newly receaued which had ben ſufficiēt to haue moued him to ſeeke reuenge: Yet notwithſtanding all this I ſay, he was ſo affectionate vnto the publicke commoditie & common welth of this Realme, and ſo far bent, rather vnto reaſon, thē reuēge (how vehement ſo euer his griefe were) that at ſuch time as the queene came to viſit him,

The battayle of S. Dionice.

The Conſtable wōded.

he motioned nothinge vnto her, but the conclusion of a peace vvith all haste possible, in these woordes, *The briefest follyes be the best* and therefore hee exhorted her, that as she wished the prosperitie of the realme, so shold she desist frō farther disquieting the same vpō any occasiō whatsoeuer, propounding vnto her, how lamētably it was wasted through the slaughters & losse of so muche nobilitie: howbeit all these wordes were in vayne: for those reasons which he did alleage to moue her to peace, those same dyd she wrest vnto war: where hee opened vnto her the losse, shee concluded it, to bee her gayne: and from whence so euer he forelaw the destruction of the Realm, she promised vnto her selfe, that from the same place shee should obteyn her own establishment. By his death she is now dispatched of the man whome shee moste feard, whose death how she bewailed it is well known, in that she sought to bringe his name into sclander of the *Parisians*, lyke as before shee had assayed to bring his life. Sone after this, there came some reystres out of *Germany* to the ayde of both parties: But shee durst hardly giue any credite vnto those whome the Duke

Katherine wresteth the Constables counsayle.

The death of the Constable.

Ayde out of Germanye.

Iohn of *Saxony* had brought in her fauour, becauſe he was ſonne in law vnto the *Palatine* elector, & maynteyned the confeſſiō of *Auſbourge*: On the other ſide the prince of *Conde* hoped to take *Chartres* & with the ſpoyle of the ſame to pay his men. vvher fore theſe two reaſons moued her fully to conclude a peace, procuring the family of *Mommorency* to become motioners of the ſame, and promiſing vnto the proteſtants ſome parte of theyr requeſtes: but for as much as her faythe was greatly ſuſpected, she now ſware a thouſand othes, that shee would neuer conſent to breaking of it, & cauſed the king ſolemly to ſwear vnto the ſame, as if it were but a tryfle to promiſe vpon the worde of a Kinge, and then to falſefie the ſame, and but a ſmal offence to profane his oth & faith. By this means the peace was ſone concluded, but vnto what in ēt, it was as quickly ſene: for hir only en tēt was to cauſe the prince of *Conde* to diſ- ſolue his army, to ſend hom his *Germaynes*, and to moue eache man to retire vnto his own habitatiō, which he performed withī the time vnto him by this peace limited: wheras she cōtrariwiſe framed & deuiſed all preparations vnto warre, duringe the

Peace a- gayne con- cluded, but not vncon- ſtrayned.

Satiſfying of the Kinges oath.

Katherine

preparth for warres

time that theſe articles of peace vvere a vvryting. I truſt there be no catholickes, but wil grant me that eyther we muſt promiſe nothing vnto the Proteſtants, either elſe we muſt performe what ſo euer vve haue promiſed: For our keping our othes vnto any, it is not ſo muche in reſpect of his owne parſon, as for the honor which we owe vnto God, whom we cal vnto witneſſe in our doinges, and for the diſcharge of our own conſciences, neither can I ſee what is to be loked for in al our humayne dealings, in cace our faith, which ought to be the onely bonde be deſpiſed: Haue we not ſene *Hōgary* deſtroied for hauig at the perſwaſiō of a cardinal, falſified their faith vnto the Turck? are we ignoraunte what happened vnto vs, when as at the purſuit of *Cardinall Caraffa*, during his papacy we brake with the Emperor and the King of Spayne: Are not all hiſtories replenished with ſuch examples? Aſſuredly no man may falſyfy his faith vnto any whome ſo euer, without great offence vnto God, remorce of his own conſcience, and blemish vnto his honor: much leſſe then ought a prīce ſo to deale, who ſhold be in reſpect, a ſanctuary vnto his ſubiectes, whome hee

Faith not to be falſified.

is bound to loue, euen as the father loueth his children, and in cace they be as it were ſicke, deſeaſed, or corrupted, he shoulde like a perfect phiſition, cure, dreſſe, heale, and cauſe them to be looked vnto. Nowe therefore marck how she kept her owne othe, and after what maner she cauſed the King her ſonne to kepe his. Firſt she placed watch at the bridges, gates and paſſages of all riuers, thereby to reſtraine the proteſtantes from any more aſſemblyng togyther: Afterward she obteined a bull from the pope dated in Iuly, whereas the peace was cõcluded, but in March before, in ſo much that there wanted time to ſolicite the ſame. By this bull she was permitted to ſell fiuety thouſand frankes of rent of the temporalties of ſpiritual men, cõditionally it shold be al beſtowed vpon the rooting out of the Proteſtantes: At this bull dyd the Chancelor called *le Haſpital* finde great fault, affirminge in open coũſell, that the ſame did greatly derogate frõ the kings honor, in as much as hereof, ſtrãgers would cõclude, that the king had made this peace purpoſely to the ende to abuſe his own ſubiects. Alſo she cõpaſſeth a looſe the houſes of the price of *Conde* the

Admirall and the lord d' Andelot, fully purposyng to surprise them at a time appoynted: shee hunteth them from house to house : Shee layeth a thousand snares to catch them : Finally shee sendeth the Lord of Goliaz into Burgondy only to apprehend the Prince of Conde who then lay at his house in *Noyers*. She sought also to take the Admirall at Tauley by meanes prescrybed vnto the Lord *de Tauannes* ? But it chaunced that some of the Lorde *de Tauannes* his letters were entercepted and brought vnto the Prince of Conde , in the which he aduertized her highnesse in these wordes . *The beaste is in the nettes* , and therevpon demanded when he should execute this enterprise, and vpō this warning the prince with his wife and children : passing ouer the riuer of *Loyre* at a shallowe the same night, withdrew him selfe toward *Rochell*, which only was exempt from garnison, where he ariued in the mōth of Septēber. Here may you behold vs entred into new troubles, greater then before, through the only pariury of this womā, who resēbleth the malitious surgeons, who wil neuer permitte oure woundes to growe vp agayn, lest

leaſte in ſo doinge, shee shoulde loſe all her gaines hereby: Now therefore marck vnto what deuiſes shee hath recourſe in this her raging ſorrowe, cõceaued of that, that she could not bring her practiſes to paſſe.

All men of any conſcience did continually abhorre, treaſonalles, and alſo among other treaſons did principally deteſt poyſõ, not permitting the practiſing and putting of the ſame in vree, uen among their mortall ennemies, which notwithſtanding with *Katherine de Medicis* is but a ſporte: For she ſendeth oute Italyens into the princes army with commiſſion to poyſon and bring it wholy to death at once, yea she cauſed at one tyme to delyuer vnto one man ten thouſande franckes to beſtow vpon ſtuffe, which he promiſed to fine for that purpoſe, with poyſon did she ſolicite the ſeruauntes and officers of the princes of Conde, the Admirall, and the lord d' Andelot, to deſtroy their maſters: Others alſo she hyreth to murder them, promiſing vnto them both pentions and greate rewardes for their miſchieuous paines. The Order of S. Michaell, cuſtumably beſtowed vpon men

Katherins coſte beſtowed vpon poyſons.

without

without reproch, whereby they become brothren vnto kinges, is now promised vnto traitors and murtherers, in cace they may atteine to their ententes. In the firste battaile the prince of Conde being taken vnder his horse, had yelded him self vnto the Lorde d' Argence, who gaue him hys fayth to saue his life, but in the meane time one *Montesquion* the capteine of the duke of Aniow his garde, who, contrary to al lawe of armes, against promised faith without word speaking, blow giuing or any warning, and nothing respecting his descent, came behind him, and so shotte him into the head with a dagge: So well was she prouided at all assayes, leaste this poore prince shoulde fynde any meanes to escape.

The price of Conde taken and murdered.

The Admirall and the Lord d' Andelot his brother gat both awaye, but were shortely after poysoned at a banequet, whereof the one dyed, and the other very extreamely syck, did hardly recouer: and the doer of this trayterouse facte at hys execution confessed that the Qneene her selfe had procured him to doe the same. VVithin a while after she caused to suborne *Dominico d' Alua*, the admirals cham-

The Admiral and the lord de Andelote poysoned.

Dominico

berleine

berlein, (at the same time that he, going towarde the duke of *Bipont* about his lords affaires, was by the Catholickes taken prisoner) and caused to deliuer vnto him a bagge wherein was a very subtill poyson, with an excellent sworde, willing him eyther with the one, eyther with the other, according as most conueniently he could, to make away his lord and maister, wherin he missed of his purpose: for being detected and conuict, hee openly confessed the whole treason, and receauing for the same most condygne iudgement, was executed. *de Alua suborned.*

Notwithstanding none of al these practises came to effect, yet did she not quaile: For one named *Maureuet* vndertooke to kill him, howbeit afterward, consydering that without great daunger he could not bring his purpose to passe, somewhat to acquit his promise, he murdered the lorde of *Moüy* his captaine and benefactor, for which deede she assigned vnto him a pention out of the townhouse of Paris wherwith the better to encorage him to other the like practises, in which he is now become parfect. Thus may you se that there are no meanes which she accompteth not *Monsier de Moüy slaine.*

lawfull

lawfull and honeſte, howe abhomynable ſo euer they bee, in cace they wyll ſerue to the rooting oute of thoſe whome she hateth: wherfore we needeno lenger to ſtande vppon this poyncte, that shee hateth them for theire relygyon, for who ſo euer vſeth any ſuche practyſes, is aſſuredly voyde both of conſcience and religion.

Againe no man can become ſo catholicke in one day, as it is euident that shee did the ſame day that the king of *Nauarre* was ſlayne: But it is an only deſyre of reuenge and a cankered malice againſte the mighty which boyleth in her breſte, and aſſure your ſelues that shortely you shall ſee her practyſe the ſame deuiſes againſte the moſte earneſte Catholyckes in thys realme.

The Duke of Biponts comming into france

VVell the Duke of Biponte bryngeth ſeuen thouſande reiſtres vnto the ayd of the proteſtāts, whoſe cauſe is acoūted iuſt among the princes of *Germany*, by reſon of ſuch manyfold treſōs as they had hearde to be practyſed in Fraunce for the rooting oute of the profeſſoures of theire religion in the ſame countrey: My late Lorde *de Aumale* hath an army lying

vpon

vpon the frontiers, him doth the Queene commaund, omitting all kinde of perill whatsoeuer, to fight with the duke: wherevpō he assembleth the principal of his army to demaund their counsel & aduise: They find thēselues to weke to fight with him, & doe merueile that she maketh so small accoumpte of the frenche nobilitie, as to force them to fight against such power of straungers as they can not ouercome without great losse of Catholickes, who also in case they be ouercomen doe nothing diminishe the nomber of the protestāts in their own realm, wherevpon after lōg disputatiōs it was cōcluded to let thē passe without battail, for which cause the queene sought (according to the prouerbe, to caste the catte betweene hys legges, vsyng moste bitter wordes agaynste him to the ende to bring hym out of the king her sonnes fauoure, yea shee sought couertly to haue attributed vnto him the losse of *La Charite*, with all other the harmes whyche the reystres had committed throughoute the whole realme: To bee breife shee affirmed it to bee but paultring to gyve counsayle not to fight, at al such times as this womās

Katherine seketh to discredit the Duke d'Aumale.

appetite

appetite serued therevnto: also that it was treason to doubt the hazard of the french nobylyty at euery chance, yea or to refuse to put them to the office of miners & laborers.

VVhat more euident profe coulde any man desyre: In this theire warre, whiche continewed more lenger and sharpe then eyther of the other two, there were two great feildes fought, where also her selfe sometimes came to the army, to the ende the more to encorage the souldyers: there happened many meetinges, skirmishes, sieges, with other feates of armes, wherin many as well protestantes as catholickes, lords, gentlemen, capteins, and commons, ended their liues.

Katherins sorow for the death of the nobilitie

I can not merueile although she reioyced in the death of any Protestant, notwithstanding the losse of many of them was greatly to be lamented, and that a prince who loueth his subiectes can not delite in theire destructions, howe soeuer they haue deserued, for as we reade *Dauid* bewayled the death of his sonne *Absolon*, notwithstanding he had openly reuolted & rebelled against him: But I wil referre my selfe vnto those who were attendaunt

continually

continually vpō her parsō, desiring their true report of such lamentations as shee made for the death of any frēch lord slain in her quarell or seruice, as the late lord of Martigues, the county of Byron or suche like, whom all the world bewayleth: Also of her sorrow for the common misery of all the contry, & how greuously she toke any heauy tidinges: nay contrariwise haue not most men seene her openly reioice at the death of three or foure protestantes, whose slaughter had ben bought with the blood of a hūdred Catholick gentlemen? such as alwayes were curriers from the campe can truely make report, and wherof may a man gather that this procedeth, saue only of a determinatiō plāted in her brest, to roote out the catholick nobility with the blood of the protestants gentlemen, whereby she shal gain, on which side so euer the losse turneth.

VVe haue no cause to wonder that she loueth so wel this game, seing she plaieth so sure therat, neither so far as we can gather is she minded to doe any other thing: yet must we once againe after suche losse of people, destruction of nobilitie, murther of gentlemen, and souldiers, and

Peace concluded. vvonderfull expences of money, retorne to ſpeake of peace.

An.1570 *Germany* threaten vs: vve ſuſpect *England*, our armie is replenished vvith diuiſions and ielouzye, our nobilitie reiected, and our people vveary of paymentes of money: vpon theſe cauſes after infinite treatiſe, peace is concluded: now therefore marcke vvhat wee haue gayned by the laſt breach; vve muſt now giue out, that the Proteſtantes haue taken vveapon for the Kinges ſeruice, vvhereby it is euident that wee haue ſlayne his ſeruitours: vve muſt enter into bondes to paye theyr reſtres: vve muſte permit to them the exerciſe of theyr Religion, yea and that which is more, the Kinges fayth is now of ſo ſmall accompt by reaſon it hath ſo often bene falſified through the periury of one woman, vvho gouerneth, that we muſt giue foure Cities as hoſtages & pledges for the true obſeruance of this peace: for otherwiſe I pray you who dare truſte therein? Thus are all our warres vnprofitable, and our coyne caſte downe the ſtreame. Had it not, I praye you, bene farre more conuenient quietly to haue permitted vnto euery one the peacible

enioying

enioying of ſuch order as the eſtates haue accompted moſt expedient for the common welth,& in the meane tyme to haue ſought to reduce into the right vvay the Proteſtantes by ſermons, admonitions,& exhortations, rather then thus at the perſwaſion of a womā,who careth not for the one,neither loueth the other,& regardeth no kind of Religiō, to ſlay & murder one an other? Aſſuredly if euer peace deſerued in reſpect of promiſed faith, to be obſerued, vndoubtedly then ought this inuiolably to be kept. The King ſware vnto it faithfully in open counſaile: The Quene his mother & my lords his brothren were not to ſeke in the like dealinge: All the officers of the court & crown, The Lords of the priuye counſayle: the courtes of parliament: The great counſaile: The gouernors of the prouinces: The *Prouoſt*, bailifes & shriues of the citie of *Paris*: To be brief, al men of auctority in the cōmon welth & kīgdom,are herevnto ſworn: The queene of *Englād* & the princes of *Germany* do ſēd very honorable ēbaſſadors for to cōgratulate the kings mariage, with the emperors daughter? vnto al theſe doth he promiſe,inuiolably to maītain this peace,as moſt ne-

The oath for the keping of the peace.

ceſſary to the conſeruation of his Kyngdome: In ſomme, there wanted no kinde of aſſuraunce that could be inuented to make it autenticall: hereafter shal you ſee what account she made of the blaſoning & ſclaūder of the kings oath in all places, yea & of the procuring of the whole nobility to be periured and diffamed, notwithſtāding moſt of them cannot do with all. The queen of *Nauarre*, the Prynces of *Nauarre* and *Conde* the *Admirall* with other the principall of the proteſtants remained at *Rochel* vntil the fury of the people were ſlaked, whereby the queene had ſmal power to hurt them: But this deuylishe womā, who neuer could be quiete or take any pleaſure except in other mens harmes, findeth other meanes for to kepe her ſelf ocupied after her wonted maner: For she myſſed narowely frō diſpatching the duke of Guiſe nowe liuing, euen preſently vpon his return frō the wars, where he had trauailed as all men do knowe, and this was the deuice.

The duke of Guiſe in danger.

The Lady Margaret her daughter shewed a cherefull countenance towarde him, as toward a luſty lord, and yong gentleman who was welcome to all men and already had

had shewed great tokens of his prowesse & promysed mighty matters in time to come: the queene perceiuing this giueth to the late king and the duke of *Anion*, sence king of *Poole*, and now king of Fraunce to vnderstād that the sayd duke of *Guise* began to fansy and offer loue to her daughter, their sister: This did shee perswade them that they oughte not to permitte, neither was it meet to suffer such a meane gallant, for that was her phrase, so far to presume, as once to thinke to marry hys maysters sister: yea shee made his face so heynouse in their sightes, that they concluded vppon his death: To bee breife, the Duke of Aniow, notwithstanding he had before singulerly loued him, did now wayte for him in a gallery, in full minde to sheath his Dagger in the sayde Duke of Guises hearte as hee shoulde passe by: howebeit whither it were that he called to minde such seruices as his predecessours beefore time and his brother not long since, had receaued at the handes of both his aunceſtoures and him selfe also, or whither vpon any other occasion: but he refrayned: Neuertheleſſe shortely after the kyng through the importunate

The duke of Aniow wayteth to kill the duke of Guise.

Another practise

agaynſt the Duke of Guiſe.

ſuit of his mother, did deliuer a ſword & a dagger vnto the *lord great Prior* his naturall brother, willinge him that at ſuch tyme as his maieſty went to the aſſembly, he shold alwayes ryde next vnto him, & in cace the Duke of *Guyſe* would, according to his vſual maner, preaſe betwene them, he shold in earneſt quarell and aſſayle him: yea the kinge gaue him men to ayde him if neede were: VVell the tyme drew on, the duke of Guiſe, after his wonted vſe, thruſt in betwene them: The great Pryor maketh as he would iuſtle him back: howbeit, were it theyr auncient amitie, or the doubtfull ende that might come thereof, he proceeded no farther: vvherevpon the King for a tyme shewed to him but ſimple cheere, making as ſmall accompt of him, yea the Queene in reproch of his birth, ſayde that it had bene a wonder if euer he had done valiant deede. Admitte the Duke of *Guyſe* (as ordinarily yonge men doe conceaue hope) had pretended vnto his mariage, should this be firſt tyme that the houſe of *Lorreyn* vvas allyed to the line of France? Is is not ſo preſently? Put the cace it is not. VVho is neuertheleſſe ignorant that loue is a diſeaſe vnprouided of moſte

The great Pryor a basterde.

worldly

worldly conſiderations, which often times maryeth the Scepter vnto the sheepe-hooke, and the imperiall pallaces vnto cabbins? vvas it neceſſary, for this deede, ſo rigorouſly to conſpire the death of ſo valiant a Lorde? VVell the truth is, that her diſeaſe lay not in that place: VVe be not ſo difficoult to bee entreated in loue matters, as we make for: vve obſerue not therein all the briefes and longes, as vve would men should ſuppoſe: But the matter was this: He is a yong Lord, well trained vp, the ſonne of one of the moſt valiant Capteynes of our tyme, and in his childhood hathe shewed a heart worthy ſuch a father: VVe would therefore bee rid of him: vvarre could not conſume him: vve muſte then fynde ſome other occaſion to diſpatch him, ſo shold bothe father and ſonne receaue theyr wages for al their ſeruice in like coyne: She reioiceth at the fathers death: She is ſory to ſee the ſon liue: But omitting theſe matters let vs now retorn to the obſeruatiō of the peace.

*The king beīg ready to mary the emperors daughter, his mother cauſeth to inuite the proteſtāts captains to the weddig, intending there for to entrap thē, as vvas

*To what ende the proteſtātes were deſired to the weddinge.

Katherins meſſage to the pope.

euident by a letter vvhich shee cauſed the Cardinall of *Sens* to wryte vnto the Pope, in the which she deſireth his holineſſe not to take it in euell part that shee had vpon ſuch condicions concluded peace with the Proteſtants, for that vvas but a polliçie to brig things to paſſe: for, ſaid she, had their captains comen to the mariage, it had ben already diſpatched. Now let al men judge what honor it had ben to our king, to deſire men to his mariage, and there to haue murdered thē, or what a pleaſure it would haue ben to the emperor to heare that his daughters mariage had bene conſecrated with ſo wicked, deteſtable & abhominable treaſon: But it ſo fell out, that as yet moſt of the people was not quieted, wher vpon the proteſtants had laweſull excuſes to abſent thēſelues from the court, which place aboue all other they eſpecially ſuſpected: Theſe their allegations moued hir to ſek al means posſible to quiet the whol contrey, fayning that shee would moſt ſeuerely punish ſuche ſeditious perſons, as vnder a ſecreat hope that all theſe deuiſes tended onely to the aſſurance of the proteſtants beliefe, toke very bouldly vpon them. Thus she miſſed of thē at this time: but marck the ſequele.

After all theſe matters aforeſaid, the queen knowing by her former deligs that theſe her practiſes were already ſuſpected and that now shee had atteined vnto like reputatiō with her oncle *Clement* the. vii. namely that promiſing any thing whatſo euer, yea in ful entēt to perform the ſame, she was now neuertheles nothīg credited, she thoght it not amis the king shold plai his part (whoſe words & ſpech she framed & forced to agre with hers, bicauſe that in his ſo tender youth, his wordes shoulde be much les ſuſpected of fayning and diſſimulations.

Katherine cauſeth the king to motion ſundry deuiſes vnto the proteſtantes.

She therefore procured him to propound two things which ſemed moſte fit to abuſe the proteſtāts, & the ſame which eſpecialy they now deſired & wished for.

The firſt was, war againſt the king of ſpain for the recouery of the low cōtries. The other was the mariage of my Lady *Margaret* his ſiſter, her daughter vnto the King of *Nauarre*.

The prince of Orendge ſollicited to agree with the

Theſe her two principal pointes she ſo erneſtly purſued, that finaly bringing thē to paſſe, shee atteined her long deſyred purpoſe. In the meane time the prince of Orenge who was the generall of thoſe

the king of Spayne.

who were risen in the low contries against the inquisition and gouernment of *SPANIARDES* was gone to his own house in Germany whereas he was earnestly sollicited to agree with the kinge of Spayne. vppon somewhat reasonable conditions, which the Emperor, the only motioner of this agrement, had proponnded & promised to cause to be inuiolably obserued, wherby he was in a maner resolued to accept them: which when the King vnderstood, he caused to write a letter vnto the County *Lodouick de Nassaw*, the prince of *Orendges* brother, who then soiorned at *Roebell*, wherin he put him in hope of succoure against the sayd king of *Spaine*, and therefore desired him to come to his presence, wheras they might more particulerly common of his maiesties whole entent: herevpon the sayd county repaired secretly toward *Blandis* in *Brye* wher the courte then lay, frō whence the king very solenderly accompanied wente to mete him at *Lumiguie*, & frō thēce departed to *Fountainbel-eaw*, whither also the county Lodouick secretly folowed him, wheras he comuned with the king aforesaid, the espace of thre or foure dayes, who made vnto him so large

The emperor motioneth a peace betwene the Kinge of Spayne and the Prince of Orendge which the Kinge of France maketh voyd.

large and fayre offers, that at his retorne he counſayled his brother the prince of *Orendge* aforeſayd, no lenger to harken vnto the treaty late begon with the king of *Spaine*, ſeing that now the french king miniſtred ſo good occaſions of warre againſt him. Returnīg alſo to *Rochel* he perſwaded the *Admiral* that the king was erneſtly bēt toward this war, ſo far as a man might preſume, cōſiderīg al vantages which were to be eſpied: alſo that the queen mother was highly offended at the death of her deere daughter, who was poyſoned in *Spaine*: Again that the kinge miſlyked of ſuch braueries as the *Spaniards* had practiſed againſt him in *Florida*, neither was wel contēt that they ſought to ſet foote within his preeminences, with ſuch like ſtuf: by theſe words it began to ſincke into the *Admirals* hert, that the Kyng coueted warre againſte the Spanierdes, and ſo conſequently wyshed for a generall peace throughoute hys whole kingdome, according vnto a common rule which before he had always obſerued, namely that to continew our peace it is neceſſary to kepe the men of war occupied in forein contreies againſt ſtraungers.

The Admirall is perſwaded that the French kinge determined warre a gayneſt the Spanierdes.

Aboute

A mariage motioned for the Duke of Aniow.

About the same time, they sent forth the Cardinal of *Chastillio* the Admirals brother to motiō another mariage for the duke of *Aniow*, howbeit in his returne homwarde, he was poysoned by one Guillin his chāberlain, who not lōg before had promised the queen so to do. This Guillin wrought so artifycially, that vntill such time, as after saincte *Bartlemewes* lamentable murder, he was taken as a spy at Rochell, and for that cause brought vnto execution, whereas he confessed the sayd deede, affirmyng euen at the houre of death, that he was far worse then a spy, for hee had, sayde hee, at the procuremēt of certain the Queenes officers who promysed vnto him moste ample rewardes, poysoned his late mayster the Cardinall aforesayd, it was neuer knowen who was the worker thereof. After this maner did shee rewarde the Cardinall for al his paines, vnto whome afore time shee had shewed greatest tokens of amytie, and that not vvithoute cause: For by hys helpe she recouered of a sickneesse at *Chaalons*, whereas all the Phisitions had giuen her ouer, and besydes that he had bene her cheifest staye, at the same time that for her barrennesse shee should

The Cardynall of Castillion poysoned.

haue

haue bene ſent home againe vnto *Florence*: This treaty of mariage, ſemed in parte to tende to the better obſeruing of the peace.

The king ſone after called the Admyrall to the courte vnder coulor of the flemyſh war, vpon which hope he accordīgly gaue his attēdaūce with forty horſes only: At that time they held a coūſell to haue diſpatched him, & for the ſame purpoſe, for teſied the kings gard with foure hondred harquebuziers, whil the king lay at *Bloyſe*, howbeit fynally they determined to attēd for better oportunity to haue entrapped thē both at once, & ſo this practiſe wente quite backward.

A counſayl to haue murdered the Admirall.

The king sheweth hym a thouſande fauoures: The Queen more then euer she had done: alſo to let him vnderſtande that they pay him not with words only, they cōmit vnto him the whole charge & conduct of the wars in the low cōtreyes: Thus do they permit him to return fully ſatiſfied into his own houſe.

The mariage of the Lady Margaret vnto the Kyng of Nauarre, whych was the other hope of the proteſtāts, went forward in the ſame ſeaſon: The king and

The Mariage of the King of Nauarr

the

propounded and accorded.

the queene ſemed very deſirous thereof, boſting that now they entended to mary the Catholickes vnto the Proteſtauntes: yea and to remoue all doubtes they eaſely did cõdiſcẽd to the proteſtãts ſo far, as to permitte the mariage of the ſayd king of Nauar, to be otherwiſe ſolẽniſed than the catholick & Romish Churche did alowe: there was now therefore no more to doe, but to attẽd the cõming of the Queene of Nauar for paſsing of the accord and of the king, her ſonne for performing the mariage: The queene of Nauarre, after a fewe dayes being come, the trety of this mariage was ſone concluded. Not long before her arriual there came to the court the Cardynall Alexandryne, the late Popes neuew, who hearing of her aproch, haſted him ſelfe the more in full hope to haue diſſolued all matters as well of the maryadge, as of the Flemish warres, yea and to haue renewed the kinges warre againſte the Proteſtantes, as in deede that was the only effect of his meſſage: wherefore the better to abuſe their ſimplicity, openly the king & queen ſemed to make but ſmale account either of his parſon or propoſitions, howbeit ſecretly they cer-

Cardinall Alexandrius arriuall at the courte and the cauſes thereof.

tefyed

fyed him that all these practises tended to the only ruine of the protestantes.

The kings conference with Cõty Lodowick.

The king notwithstanding all these thīgs entered very farre into matters with the county *Lodouick* who came with the queen of *Nauarre*: wherein also the sayd County was nothing behinde: for he discloſed vnto, both the king and Queene, what intelligences and enterprises he had, as well in *Flāders* as in *Henaulte* in most of their good towns: the kīg therfore promiseth to him ayd of as many fotemē & horsemē as him self shal think sufficient: he also sēdeth for the most valiāt gētlemē protestātes to the end to assign vnto euery one what enterprise he shal vndertake, & after what maner he shal put it in executiō, by such menes as the *County* shall apoint him: he sendeth forth *Mīgnitier* in a ship of wars, riged after the maner of a marchant, for to espy the lādīg of *Perow*: he cōcludeth leag with the queen of *Englād* who at that time, was not al the best cōtēt with the king of *Spain* promising among other things: to aid her throughout his dominiōs in cace the king of *Spain* wold not yeld vnto hir al such hir subiects with their goods as he did detaine he propoūdeth another trety with the *protestant* princes

A league with the Queene of England

A league with the Germayne Princes.

A league with the Princes of Germanye

princes in Germany: he beinge ſollicited by *Luke* of *Florence* by the meanes of Fregoſe, to lende money wherewith to diſchardge the wars which he might ſtand in doute of, for the duchy of *Sien*: aſſembleth his army on the ſea at *Brouage* wherwith to aſſaile the low cõtries: Moreouer hee ſendeth an honorable embaſſage to the great *Turck* purpoſedly to exhort him to lande in *Sicily*: It was alſo noyſed in the low contries that the king of *Fraunce* fauored the prince of *Orẽdge* againſt the king of *Spaine*, whervpõ it chanced that whẽ the county *de la march* the prince of Orẽdges kinſmã had taken the towne of *Briell* in *Hollande*, through diſpaire, the whole contries of *Holland* & *Zealand* in hope of the king of France his ſuccour, who armed his nauy at *Brouage*, did reuolt. Theſe affaires beeing thus all at once broched and begonne, the County *Lodouicke* acompanyed with diuers French gentlemen, aduowed by the kinges letters, namely *Genlis* and *Noue* hauing ſent the ould capteine *Poyet* by the breake of daye to ſeaſe vpon one of the gates of Montes, vnder coloure of paſſing toward the of Duke Alba, ſhewing the kinges paſporte tending to the ſame ende

Embaſſage to the great Turke.

Montes ſurpriſed

hee

he ſuſprized the ſayd towne of *Monts*, An other of his gentlemen alſo accompanyed with diuers frenchmen, did on the ſodeyne take Valenciennes, but the caſtle did ſone recouer that towne agayne, theſe two beynge the cheife townes and forteresſes of all *Henault*. *Velenciens ſurpriſed.*

Vpon theſe demeanures, the king findeth occaſyon agayne to call the Admirall to the courte, to the ende to haue his aduice in this warre, whereas preſently vpon his commyng, he granteth to hym one treſorer, whom he commaundeth to deliuer to the ſayde *Admirall* what ſo euer money he shal neede for the conduct of this war, wherin the Duke of *Alençon* shold be generall. *Genlis* returneth from *Monts*, he cõmoneth with the king, and obteyneth his maieſties letters vnto ſundry gentlemen, wherein they are commaunded to bryng hym ſuccour: but he was ouerthrowen in the way, & the kynges letters being found were carryed to the Duke of *Alba*. About the ſame time the prince of *Orendge* returned out of *Germany* with a ſtrong power of Reſtyres, part of whoſe capteines were pentioners of *Fraunce*, and lyued of the kynges paye: He entred into *Brabant*: *The Kinge granteth to the admirall one treaſurer.* *The Prīce of Orendge retorneth out of Germany.*

he toke diuers good townes: He was receaued into *Louayne*, one of theyr chiefe townes, and into Malines vvhereas all the munition of the whol coūtrey remayned: To be briefe, in short ſpace he reduced all the king of *Spain* his eſtate in the low coūtryes, vnto ſuche a hazarde, as they vvere ready to ioyne with him and to take his parte: All theſe thinges proceded, as you may ſe, of our queenes onely driftes, and therfore I leaue vnto al vviſe mens iudgmēts, to gather what kynd of thanks the king of Spaine may canne vs, or whither he will omit the firſt occaſion of reueng, that he can ſpie out.

During all theſe matters, the celebration of the marriadge depended and ſtayed onely on the king of *Nauarre*: but vvhileſt all men hoped to trudge into the low countreies, the Queene contrariwiſe prepared to entrappe the proteſtantes, although ſhee thought it yet neceſſarie to vvaite one daye longer before the ſtroke. She did moſt extreemely hate the Quene of *Nauarre*, vvhom of long time she knew to be of great vvyſedome and valyant coradge, wherefore she feared, that in caſe the ſaid *queen* ſhold liue after the mur

der

der of the reſt, she might yet once watche her a diſpleaſure, If in the murder already deuiſed, she should procure hir death, vnder colour of the auncient quarrell of the houſe of Guiſe, againſt the familie of Chaſtilion, therein could she find no ſufficient occaſion for how should she refer this fault vnto the Lordes of Guiſe, who neuer had any cauſe of quarrell againſt her. Againe she doubted, that ſo long as the ſayd Queen liued, she should haue no auctority ouer the yoūg king of *Nauarre*: yea, she feared alſo leſt in that the ſaid *queen* was of good forecaſt & miſtruſtful, shee might peraduēture ſmel out al theſe driftes, & ſo make fruſtrate all her ententes: Findyng therefore no other meanes, shee had recourſe vnto her hyred and vſuall poyſoner Maiſter Rene, who by ſelling his perfumes and perfumed doblets vnto the ſaid queene, found meanes ſo to infect her, that ſone after she dyed, whereof he hath ſince ben ſo bould, as to make his auaunte, & therein hath ſo farre proceeded, as to boaſt that yet he had ſtuffe enough for 3. or 4. more, who nothing miſtruſted him. An other difficulty ther yet remained, & that was, that the pope was

The queene of Nauarre poyſoned.

very ſlacke in admitting and graunting a diſpenſation to marry, cõtrary to the aun cient rites of the Church, neyther durſt the *Cardinall* of *Burbon* cõdiſcend to marry them, without the ſayde diſpenſation, for feare of being excommunicated: herein marcke her conſcience.

Katherin coũterfeateth letters from the Cardinall of Lorrein

The Queene fayned to haue receaued letters from the *Cardinal* of *Lorreyne*, that the ſayde diſpenſation was graunted, but not yet diſpatched, and that therfore they needed no lenger time to defer the mariage, but if it pleaſed them, they might at theyr owne wils celebrate the ſame: Theſe falſe & forged letters dyd she shew vnto the cardinal of *Burbon*, who vpon the ſight of the ſame, vvas content to marry them, after the maner agreed vpon, with the Proteſtantes, and ſo was it ſolemnized the ſeuententh of *Auguſt*.

The Admirall wounded

The next Friday after, the *Admiral* was with a harquebuze wounded, by the ſame *Maurcuet*, who ſlew the Lorde of *Moũy*, his capteyne, as is aforeſayde. The Kinge, the Queene, and my Lordes her children, came to viſit him: Shee more then any other, ſeemed to be diſpleaſed at his hurt, crying out lowder then the reſt, againſte

the

the auctors thereof: and yet the nexte night betwene Saturday and Sonday, shee causeth him to bee killed outright, and not him onely, but so many more of the Protestantes, as could be founde, who before had bene enrowled, to the ende, that not one of them might escape. The first in this nomber enrowled, vvere the foure brethren, the *Mommorencies*, although Catholickes, which were saued by the onely absence of the Duke of *Mommorency*, the eldest of the brethren, and chiefe of that race, vvho vpon the thursday before, was gon on huntinge: The *Marshal de Cosse*, supplyed the ninth roome. After folowed the Lorde of *Biron*, with many more: To be briefe, the *LOVRE* gates vvere shet, least any should escape: But *Seignior Claude Marcel* meeting vvith the Lorde of *Thore*, one of *Mommorencies* brethren, warned him withall speede, to shift for him selfe, if he loued his owne lyfe, bicause that daye vvas vnfortunate to his progenie: As for the *Marshal de Cosse*, had not the prayers of the Lady *de Chasteau nuefe*, (who bestowed hir credite vpon the duke of *Aniow*, since Kinge of Poole, and now of France,) bene of great efficacie,

The Admirall slayn.

who shold haue bene murdered and by what meanes they did escape.

hee had paſſed the ſame vvaye vvith the reſt, as alſo the Lorde of *Bron*, vvho ſaued himſelfe in the *Arſenall*: The Kinge of *Nauarre* eſcaped at the humble ſuite of his new wife, the kinges ſiſter: the prince of *Conde*, by the help of his brother in lawe, the Duke of *Neuers*, vvho alleadged, that as yet hee was young and tender, and eaſely might bee brought into the right way, & reduced to their religiō. Theſe mē dyd God, who would not in one day ſubuert our whole kingedome, exempt out of this horrible murder.

Katherine ledeth her children to behold the admyrals carcaſe & vpon what occaſion.

The Admirals body, after that the head being cut of, was preſented to the queene, did they trayne to Montfaucon gallowes, whether ſoone after, in an euening, her ſelf went to behold him, taking with her, her ſonnes, her daughter, & her ſonne in lawe: vvhat a beautifull ſpectacle this was, for ſo noble princes to behould, I pray you conſider: For my part, I can not conceaue to what entent she dyd it, onleſſe it were to emboulden them in all kinde of bloudy cruelty, & ſo to frame thē to her own nature, which is ſuch, that no kinde of tyrannous ſight, can ſo far quaile hir cruel kind, as therein to deminish hir pleaſure & delight, or to cauſe her to abſent her ſelf, frō

the presence of the same.

Many valiant gentlemen, whose want against strangers, I feare, we all shall hereafter bewayle, were in this rage slayne, yea many earnest *Catholikes*, as among others the Lorde of *Villemaur*, one of the masters of the Requestes, and sonne to the Lorde keeper of the Seales *Bertrandi*, afterward Cardinall of *Sens*, also the Lord *Roüillart*, a counseler, clarcke of the court of Parliament, and Canon of onr Lady Church, who bothe were well knowen for earnest Catholickes, although enemies to all crueltie, vniustice and sedition. *Catholicks murdred.*

The rascalls of the citie, moued partly by the example of those, who cryed that the Protestantes would haue murdered the kinge & his brethren, partly also by hope of the spoyle, murdered all those whome they met, without regard, either of nature, age, qualitie, vocation, or religion.

The Queene commaunded all gouernors, vvithin theyr precinctes, to doe the like, vvhich precept, in most Cities of the Realme vvas with extreme crueltie executed, notwithstandinge, the verye hangemenne in some places, dyd choose rather to lose theyr offices, then *Katherine commandeth the murder in all places.*

to practiſe ſuche murders vpon innocent people by iuſtice and lawe, vncondemned: He vvhich could commit moſte ſlaughter, was greatlyeſt rewarded: Some they ſtrangled in the priſons: for theyr ſakes vvhiche had begged theyr confiſcations: for the Marſhal *de Retz*, cauſed to murder vvithin the priſon called *Chaſtelet*, one of the Kynges ſecretaries, to the ende hym ſelfe myght enioye his landes and poſſeſſions. The whole diſcourſe hereof woulde be tedious, yf a man shoulde perticulerly deſcribe the ſame: It is ſufficiently knowen vnto all men, and my ſelfe doe tremble at the remembrance therof. In this place to argue whyther they had conſpired agaynſt the kyng or not, it were ſuperfluous. All lykelyhoodes doo ſaye nay: preperation there was none to be perceiued: No man defended hym ſelfe:

The counſaylours of this pretence, doo report it to bee an excellent motion: If it had been true, why was not theyr cace heard and theyr proceſſe decided? wherefore were they not lawefully and by iuſtice executed? was it vnpoſſible to haue apprehended thoſe parſons,

whom

vvhome they ſlevv in theyr beddes? VVas not the Admirall from the tyme that he vvas hurte, ſtyll in the cuſtody of the Kinges garde, vvhiche vvas aſſigned for his defence agaynſte the ſeditious perſons? VVere there ſo many proteſtantes that the kinges gard could beare no ſway? was there no people in *Paris*? eyther were there no men of warre? By orderly proceedynges, the Kynges reputation had neuer bene called in queſtion amōg foreyn nations, but rather al princes woulde haue ayded to the chaſtiſinge of the conſpiratours: Nay theſe are onely the deuiſes of ſome tirannous *Maximine*, wereby to roote out all the myghty men from among the Romane people. The Queene is conuict by her owne letters, and by thoſe letters whiche shee cauſed the Kyng her ſonne to directe vnto the lieuetenantes & gouerners of prouinces & other officers of this kingdom, beſides thoſe whiche were wrytten to his embaſſadoures, accordyng to the tenure wherof they were to make report vnto his neighboures and prynces adioynng, in the which she ſaith expreſſly, that she greatly lamented this chance, happened to the

The firſt letters concerning the murder

Admirall, and his partakers, againſte the willes both of the Kinge and of her ſelfe, alſo, that the Duke and Lordes of *Guyſe*, in reuenge of certaine their auncient and priuate grudges, had forced the Garde vvhich the Kinge for his ſafety had giuen vnto him, vvherein they had bene ayded by the *Pariſians*, vvhereby the Kinge vvas not able to remedy it, or to reſtraine their rage: Of the truthe of the contentes of theſe letters, I report me to all that then were embaſſadors: Themſelues shal confeſſe, whither they were ashamed when as, ſoone after that they had certefied thoſe princes, where they were reſident, that all theſe thinges were done by the Lordes of *Guyſe*, for credite whereof, they had alſo shewed the Kinges letters, now ſodenly they were recharged to giue foorth to vnderſtand, that the kinge himſelfe was the author heereof, in ponishment of a certayne conſpiracie, detected againſt theyr maieſties: Hardly knew they at which ende to beegin to frame theyr recantations of their wordes, afore ſpoken: Let vs therefore, I pray you, with ſome delibe-ration, examine this dealing: Let vs as it were, penetrate into the pernitious coun-

Katherins ſecond letters.

Theſe dealinges better examined.

sayles of this woman, and marcke where-vnto this rooting out, eyther of the Protestantes onely, eyther of all the mighty men of this Kingedome, without respect of Religion, doe tende.

The *Admiral* being inuited to the court, vnto the marriage of a Kinges sister, after a thousand othes, and a thousand embrasinges, is finally murdered, and not he onely, but all the most notable Protestantes, vvhich had accompanied the Kinge of *Nauarre*.

I might here alleadge the Kinges fayth, vvhich ought to haue beene regarded: Also the marriage of a Kinges sister, vvhich should not be employed vpon so trayterous and villanous practises.

VVell, admit that all these considerations vvere naught to bee regarded, and that it were somethinge tollerable in the person of an *Admirall*, who had beene generall leader of all the Protestantes armyes, and by that meanes had highly moued the kings displesure against himself: But I pray you, for his cause ought they so cruelly to haue prosecuted their rage against all the Protestantes nobilitie, vvho for the most parte, notwithstandinge their difference

in religion, were so earnestly bent to the kynges seruice, that they offered theyr owne persons, and at theyr owne charges to haue, for his cause warred agaynst the kyng of *Spayne*: was it necessary they must be slayne, and that in the chamber of the newe marryed bryde? Peraduenture some will alleadge that they were gentlemen & bare some countenance among the Protestantes, yea they were (as we terme them) Capteynes, men who were sufficient to haue agayne raysed vpp, and renewed the warre whiche we went about to quenche:

VVell let this reason serue: But for theyr sakes myght they lawefully murder and slay suche numbers of poore people at *Paris*? Ought they to haue commaunded all gouernours to execute the like cruelties in other cities? Must they needes kyl artificers, poore men, olde men, women, children, generally, all persons vnable to beare armour, who were moued onely in respect of theyr saluation to immitate an other religion? Perhaps you wyl say they were protestantes and confirmed in theyr opinions, and therefore seeing it woulde be no beter, we must needes root out all

the

the whole race.

Assuredly I can not so rawly passe ouer this poynt: for ther was some hope of winning them otherwyse, also I can no wher fynde that euer any true *Christian* prince vsed the lyke doyngs vnto eyther *Iewes*, *Turkes*, or *Sarasens*, neyther dyd euer vertuous Catholick in our contrey alowe of this so cruel dealyng, but rather saued so many as possibly they myght: yet notwithstanding for this present, I wyll bee content to admit this so vnreasonable an excuse in parte of payment: But I pray you, shold therefore the lordes of *Mõmorency*, the Marshall of *Cosse* theyr allye, the principall officers of this crowne, the lord of Biron, and others be reduced into the rowle of those who should haue ben murdered? I besech you what had they done? or whereof doe you accuse them to be coulpable? how deserued they to be so vniustly entreated? were they protestantes, nay, were they not alwayes earnest catholickes? were there euer any lordes in Fraunce who haue more valyantly fought agayust the protestantes then they? I neede not rehearce vnto you the takyng and woundyng of theyr father

ther, the cõſtable, at the battaile of *Dreux*, where he alſo loſt one of his chyldrẽ, neither how at foure ſcore yeeres of age, he receaued his deathes wounde at Sainct Dionice: I knowe very well that the good ſeruice of the father doeth neuer excuſe the miſdemeanures of the ſonne, but was there euer any battayle fought agaynſt the Proteſtantes, wherein ſome of this famelye, whom now they would by murder make away, were not preſent? haue they not in al conflictes borne chiefe ſwaye? and haue they not at all times moſt honourably diſcharged their functions? Alſo whither they haue not at all times farther hazarded them ſelues, then by ductye they were bonnde, let all the capteynes of this Realme teſtifye, let the whole armies ſpeake theyr mindes, yea let the proteſtants themſelues shew, whoſe blowes haue bene to them moſt heauye: By theyr anſvveares you may be reſolued.

As for the Marshall de Coſſe, who yet beareth the markes of ſo many vvoundes, moſt honourably receaued in all the late vvarres, agaynſt both the ennemyes of the Crowne, and

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the Proteſtantes (omittyng here the valeaunt ſeruices of his brother, the *Marshall Briſſac*: and of his neuewe the *County of Briſſac*, who bothe died againſt the Proteſtantes) can any man defraude hym of the honor of the thyrd warre: or dare any perſon deny hym, to haue bene the procurer of moſt part of our good ſucceſſes agaynſt the Proteſtantes?

VVho gaue the chiefe counſayl in the battaile of Moncontour, vvhereas tenne thouſande Proteſtantes, loſt their liues? vvho beareth the chief name of ſo many valeaunt victories in the laſt vvarre?

Vnto the Lorde of Biron vvhat may (I beſeeche you) be imputed, who hath often ventured his life in theſe late ciuill conflictes, vvherein he hath ſo faithfully and proſperouſly conducted the Catholikes artillerie: Surely you can ſay nothyng agaynſt him, for he is a Catholicke, and to his power hath warred agaynſte the Proteſtentes: But here is the matter.

The houſe of Mommorency is of neer kyndred vnto the Admirall, and very freendly to his famelye, and the *Mar-*

shall

ſhal de Coſſe is allyed vnto them: well in caſe it be ſo, or admit the *Admirall* had conſpyred: And therefore al his Catholik kindred be ſlayne: Is it to be granted that therefore we muſt take agaynſt al thoſe that be allyed vnto his famelye, or againſt ſuch as be freendes to thoſe that be allyed with hym? hath not the kyng him ſelfe ſhewed hym a thouſand tokens of amitie very lately before his death, yea and called hym father? is it therefore forbidden to al them who naturally are bound to ſhewe hym frendshypp, for to fauour hym? If this be an offence, I pray you what houſe in France is exempt of crime? VVhat gentleman or other ſhall eſcape the haulter, in caſe it be a capital delict, pounishable, not only by iuſtice, but alſo without all order of Lawe, for to be freend, allye, or kinſman to the *Admirall*, his freendes, allyes, or kinſmen? VVhere is the lawe whiche, euen among barbarous nations putteth to death, not the freendes onely, but alſo the very children of any perſon guyltye of treaſon, vnleſſe them ſelues be founde partakers in the ſame? That then belyke, is not the cauſe: but we muſt finde an other.

Fayne

Fayne woulde we roote out the chiefe of the nobilitie : All ſuche as by byrth be mightie: yea thoſe who eyther by theyr own, eyther by theyr aunceſters ſeruice, haue atteyned to any honorable degree: ſuche as lawefully might withſtande our wicked practiſes: and all them whiche by reaſon of theyr naturall goodneſſe, can not be partakers in our diſloyaltie and treaſons. This is our Queenes drifte, this is the marke whiche ſhee ſhooteth at, for the atteyning wherevnto, ſhee muſt find ſome begynnyng. In the warres ſhe hath procured the deathes of the neareſt of the blood Roiall, with the chiefe of the familyes of Mõmorency and Guiſe, the one beyng great maſter, the other Conſtable of France : Nowe ſeeketh ſhe to extinquiſhe the whole name of the Mõmorancyes and Chaſtilions, and yet wyl proteſt in all contreyes, that the Lordes of Guiſe haue done it in reuendg of theyr priuate quarrels: Thus may you ſee the very bottome of her malice. At the execution of the murder of *Paris*, she vſurped the names of the Lordes of *Guiſe*, as of thoſe vvho through a priuat diſpleaſure, dyd in reuendge, affect the *Admirals*

death, notwithstandyng that therein they so behaued themselues, that many protestantes at this day lyuing, doe accknowledge their liues only of their liberalitie: And seing that in this deed, she hath to her power, brought them into hatred among al men, she now seketh to make thē auctors of all mischiefe, and to excuse her selfe at their costes, vvhereby to banishe them from the court, not for a countenance, but to the ende in deed so sone as they be departed, so to fasten the gate after them, that they shall neuer get in againe: yea, and peraduenture after thir processe be made, yet once againe to trouble the vvhole cōmon vvelth, and so to force the kinges garde to be ministers of her reuenges: This is suche a practise as she hath perfectly learned of her Machiauellistes: For by this meanes she hopeth that the famely of *Mommorency* whiche are escaped her clawes be so nere of kinne vn to the house of *Chastillion*, and were so great freendes to the late *Admirall*, that vnderstanding that the kinge vvill not hinder them, or deale in the matter, they vvyll not fayle to assemble togeather their freendes, to the ende to reuendge his death, for assuredly it seemed

they vvere greatly moued at his vvoundes here may you se thē past all hope of reconsilmēt, here haue they begonne a quarrell sufficient for their liues time, & that vvhich is more, on vvhat side so euer the losse turneth, or vvho so be slaine, she shal still therby reap profit & pastime: Thus approcheth she nearer to the mark wherat she doth shoot: But almightie god who will not permit her to obtein her purpose but seemeth to haue reserued those two famelies to revnit themselues togeather till time & opportunitie conuenient, for the confusion of this accursed vvoman, the conseruation of thē selues, and the reestablishing of this kingdome: did so open the eyes of the Lordes of *Guise*, that they vvoulde not departe the Courte, before that the King in open parliament had, to their dischardge, aduowed and published all those murders to haue bene cōmitted by his own expresse cōmmaūdemēt, yea, & afterward meting the *Duke* of *Mōmorenty*, declared to hī perticulerly that not they, but the quene had procured *Maureuet* to shoot at the *Admiral*. Also that the *County de Retz* vvas the party, vvho bothe dyd hym selfe speake, and

cauſed others to moue the ſayd *Maureuel* thervnto, alſo that not withſtanding they were glad of his death, as of one of theyr enemyes, yet would they not that he shold after that maner haue ben diſpatched, had they not had expreſſe commaundement from his maieſty: heare maye you ſee how thys woman ſurmounteth euen her ſelfe in all kinde of miſchiefes.

VVe all doe know ther was no cõſpiracy: we all haue ſene it ſo ſubſcribed vnto by the king & Quenes own hands: The lords of *Guiſe* are warie, and will not permitt hir to ſatiſfie princes at their coſtes: To make thearfore the world beleue that there was ſomewhat, the Queene cauſed iudgemẽt to be giuen agaynſt *Bricquemault*, an auncient gentleman of threeſcore and tenne yeares of age, who had ſpent all his tyme in the warres of the late Kinges with good reputacion, and agaynſt *Cauagnes* a counſeler of the court of *Parliament* of *Tholouſe*, who both were apprehended in the heate of the great murder.

Brickquemault and Cauagnes apprehended & executed.

Firſt shee promiſeth them life, in cace of theyr own accordes they will confeſſe the crime, which they refuſed, shee preſenteth to them the racke: and yet not able to

wringe

wringe any thynge out of them for her purpoſe, she choſeth iudges to condemne them, whoſe conſciences forced them to confeſſe that they founde no cauſe vvhy to put them to death: wherevpon she seeketh other iudges after her owne minde, who to the ende both to ſatisfie her appetite, and alſo to ſet ſome color vpon their proceſſe, whereby to diſcharge them ſelues towarde the poſteritie founde out a ſlaunderous ſleyt wherefore to put them to death, namely, for bryberie and theſte of the Kynges coyne, wherewithal they neuertheleſſe neuer had to doe: howbeit theyr innocency could not preſerue them from beyng as Conſpirators executed, notwithſtandynge they coulde fynde no euidence, eyther by theyr owne confeſſions, or by the depoſitions of any other. To be briefe, they both dyd conſtantly profeſſe, euen to the death, whereat the Kynge, the Queene his mother, my Lordes his brethren, and the kinge of *Nauarre* were preſent, that they neuer had heard of any ſuche matter and therefore did appeale from her falſe ſentence vnto the iuſt iudgment of God. I know this proceſſe wyl ſeme ſtrāge vnto

you: But more ſtrange will you finde that by the which diuers catholicks were lately executed. You haue alredy heard how she prouoked the prīce of *Orēdge* & the *Coūty Lodowick* to make war againſt the *Kyng* of *Spayn* procuring thē to take ſundry towns, alſo how she ſent ſundry frenchmen vnto *Monts* by the kings precept & aduow ſigned with his maieſties own hād. Now that she hath atteyned to the end of her enterpriſe, shée forſaketh the *County Lodowick*, whervpō he was forced to yeld the towne of Monts afore ſaid, which by her meanes he had ſurpriſed, & ſo to commit himſelf into his enimies hands, amonge whom he foūd more fidelity, then with her he shold haue done: For about the ſame time alſo she writ vnto the lorde of Manſlo a germayne, whō before she had appoynted to ſerue the prince of *Orendge* with a regimēt of horſemē, willing hī to murder the ſaide *Prince* & then to retire into what part of *Frāce* ſoeuer hī ſelf shold thīk beſt: howbe it he wold not herein ſatisfie hir deſire, but perceuing that in cace he ſerued ther any lenger, he should loſe the kinges paye, hauing firſt aduertiſed the prīce of *Orēdge* of this goodly cōmiſſiō, he withdrew hī ſelf into *Germany*, wherby the prīces army was

greatly shaken & himselfin manifest dan ger: The like practise had she before moued vnto *Schōberge* an other *Germain* who al so shold haue repaired vnto the said prīce, with. 4000. *Reistres* at the kings pay, willig him to haue executed the same spedily after the great murder cōmitted. Is not this therfore playn deceipt & treasō, cōspired in all places without feare of infamy? See how now she hath, by means hereof, gottē two enemies for one, also that notwithstāding the one of thē semeth neuer so smal, yet a state, how strong so euer it be, shold auoid all weake ennemies, much more thē ought ours so to doe, being thus dilacerated & torne in peeces as it is. Also as if the iniuries don vnto the king of *Spain*, whom by surprises she had assayled, euen against the peace, durīg the time of his wars agāist the *Turck*, were easy to be recōpenced, she dispatched certain regiments of souldiers vnto the passages, to slay those men, who accordīg to the form of cōposition, came back frō Monts, whither the king had sēt thē for his seruice. But here by the way, I wold fayn know if this war were iust, why was it not cōtinued: why did they not pur sue such likelihods as ther wer, at the least

Katheren sendeth to slay those who had bene at Monts.

cace they wyll no longer prosecute the same, yet vppon what occasion doe they slay those, who at the kinges expresse cō-maundement wente thither? Is it treason to obey the kynge, to goe in his seruice, so to venture lyfe at his commaundement? In cace the warre be vniust, or that there be no sufficiēt cause to dissolue the peace, wherefore haue they then infringed the same? Vpon vvhat occasion haue they sent thither? Is it the duetye of the souldiers or of the capteynes, nay of the capteynes or of the prince, to examine whether his warre be lawefull or no? Is it so small a matter to make the kynge of *Spayne* our ennemie? Haue we not sufficiētly tried his forces? Is our strēgth so mightely encreased within these dosen yeeres whileſt vve haue one murdered an other? or is his power so greatly decayed through any notable losse whiche he hath susteyned? I pray you where be nowe the men whiche should withstand him? the money wherewith to pay them? or the allyances whervpon we must depende? But we force not at whose cost we be reuēdged: we way not whom we doe offend, so that we may slay all those whose deaths we do desire. If the

Kinge

Kinge of *Spayne* should enuade our dominions, euen to morowe next, beyng so desolate & destitute of men as it is, we wold not care: for as muche vnto vs is the *Spanyerd* as the *Frenchman*: Dyd wee not once forecast, in cace our children shoulde dye, how to transtate contrary to the *Salick* lawe, the kyngedome of *France* vnto the *Kynge* of *Spayne*? If wee myght roote out the nobilitie, and satisfie our owne appetites, it were enough, what soeuer myght afterwarde happen. The kynge of *Spayne* is our sonne in lawe, yet wyl we make no great accompt of our fayth towarde him, no more then towarde others, for whiche cause, he wyll no doubt in tyme to come wel recompence our kingedome, and god grant that these great preparations which presently he maketh, tende not to seeke reuendge. The Queene of *England* is our good neighbour, sister and alley, yet haue we enterprised durynge the league, by mocionyng a marryadge vnto her, to trouble, molest, and consume her whole estate and kyngdome. VVe speake of allyances with the princes of *Germanye*, but nowe do they accompt vs *Schelmes*, vnworthy of all cōmunication or felowship among men.

Katheren continueth amiti with no nation.

The Zuitzers haue ben our aũciẽt cõfederats, yet now by reaſõ of our daſtardlynes they are at the point, abãdonĩg our ſeruice to allye thẽſelues vnto the king of *Spayne*. Al men which deſire wel to gouerne their eſtates, doe to their powers ſtrengthen the ſame vvith the amytye of their borderers: Iudge ye therefore vvhither this accurſed woman ſeketh ought but the deſtruction of ours, ſeing that dayly she offereth new occaſiõs of ẽmity, hatred, & warre againſt vs. During theſe matters, it ſemeth to her that the proteſtantes partie was quite ouerthrowen and diſpatched, their captaynes brought to groũde, their people halfe murdered and in maner all their cities taken. Onely *Rochell* is left to them as a harborow which for feare of murders. durſt not receiue gariſon but ſtandeth vpon her auncient priuiledges, ſeing alſo that the kinge in the begining had writtẽ that the Lordes of *Guiſe* had procured the ſpoile at *Paris* & made no mẽtiõ of the cõſpiracy: we muſt now therfore nedes goe & beſiedge it, but after what mãer? I pray you marke ſtil how she draweth nere to her purpoſe. To this ſiedge she cauſeth al the french Nobility on both partes: hither

The ſiedg of Rochel.

cau-

cauſeth she all the lords of *Frãce* to march, nameli the lords of *Guiſe*, part of the houſe of Mõmorency, the Dukes of Longueuille, Bouillon, & Vzes, vvith the reſt of the princes of the blood: yea to the ende that none might pretẽd any excuſe, she brogh thither, euen my lords hir own children: neither brought she thẽ ſimply vnto the ſiege, to the ende by their preſence to aſtonish the Rochelers, or to ſet a good face on the matter, but alſo dyd dayly expoſe them vnto all labours and hazardes, in ſo much that euery man might ſone perceue how deſirous she was of their deathes, and ſlaughters: as among others, the Lordes of Guiſe may well ſay their mindes, who doe plainly know what ſmal accõpt was made of the death of their kinſmã the late duke d' Aumale: Other gentlemen can likewiſe report, what lamentations she made ouer the dead carcaſes of their coequalls, there ſlayne, as thus. *This man did not amiſſe in ſuffering himſelfe to be ſlayne, for as well he dyd owe more then he was worth.* Againe: *That man made his will before he came forth*, ſuche as vvere there preſent doe better know my meaning.

Alſo

Talke concerning the murder of certaine Catholick lordes at Rochell.

Alſo it is not vnknowen, what coũſail was ther holden, touchyng the celebration of an other *S. Bartleme we* wherin were cõpriſed, The *Kinge* of *Nauarre*, the *Prince of Conde*, (who neuertheleſſe had there moſt valeantly behaued them ſelues) the *Dukes of Longueuil* and *Bouillon*, the *Marshal de Coſſe*, the *Lorde of Mera*, the *Lorde of Biron*, the Lord *Stozzi* colonel of the infantery, with many others vvho were neuer ſlacke in venturyng theyr liues in their princes affayres : and all this vvas deuiſed by the counſaile and aduiſe of the Queene mother and her *County de Rhetz* (who in the meane time, founde opportunity at Rochel to fauour him ſelfe and theyr reaſon vvas, becauſe that ſo longe as in *France* there remayned any noble menne, or mighty perſons fauoured by the nobilitie, the kinge ſhoulde neuer want controwlers, and therefore by one meanes or other they muſt all be rooted out, and not they onely, but alſo all thoſe vvho doe fauour or folowe them : and yet ſay they, notwithſtandinge all this, there ſhalbe no want of Nobilitie, in as muche as they may ſone find out both Italiens & frenchmẽ enow, whõ, in cace they would

giue

giue vnto them all the possessions of the realme, they should myghtily bind vnto their owne deuotions. This their deuice haue oftē ben blowē into our kings eares and I pray God that we see it not shortly put in executiō. VVel, finally after the losse of the flower of our capteins & souldiers with diuers famous gētlemē, & after the burdening of the cōmons with newe exactions toward the maintenāce of this siedge, yet must we again grant thē peace, cōfirm their pruiledges & permit the exercise of their religion: Had it not ben to vs a more ready & short vvay at the firste to haue left them in quiet, seeyng they do vs no harme, rather then thus to haue procured the deathes of so many vertuous and valiant persons? After the returne from this syedge, the catholick lordes and gentlemen were for the most part wery of these ciuil battails, vnto the which they were against their willes cōstrained to come: The protestantes vvere so vveakened and brought downe, that now they wished only to liue with libertie of cōsciēce in some tollerable rest: The poor people dyd begin to shun the charges of the warres, & to seke redres of the taxes and

subsides,

ſubſidyes, eſpecially in *Languedoc Guyen*, *Doulphine* and *Prouence*, notwithſtandinge that thoſe contryes were not ſo vntollerably burdened, as diuers others were: Generally the whole Realme of *France* deſyred that the eſtates might be houlden, wherby to take order for ſuche thinges as to the whole Kingdome were neceſſary and requiſite: But the Queene mother, who only in a maner was of that opinion, dyd to her power eſchue the ſame, as an exāinate of her gouernmēt, which had reduced the kingdome in to manifeſt danger of deſtruction: But in as much as the refuſall of them was very daungerous, for feare of prouoking the people, shee made them a promiſe, putting them in hope & appoin ted thē a certayn day at *Compiegne*, notwith ſtanding that in the meane time she deter mined ſo to moleſt the whole realme, that ther shold remain none, which once durſt agayn call for the keping of the ſame. And in cace through the importunitye of the people she wer cōpelled to hold thē, then was she fully reſolued to cal thether all the noble and mighty men, who might not re fuſe to come, and vpon them to celebrat a newe S. *Bartlemew*: hearcof therfore to

ſett a good countenaunce, she permitteth no particuler eſtates in the prouinces to be houlden according vnto the whiche they might prepare & frame their books agaynſt the generals, for shee feareth leaſt both catholikes & proteſtantes cõſidring their diſpoſitiõs would agree vpõ matters touching the cõmon welth but doth ſend out ſundrey gentelmen after the maner of a queſt of enquiry to vnderſtand of the cõplaintes of the cõmonlty & of the ſame to make reporte vnto her: In the meane time conſider her practiſes, ne thincketh I do behold her onckle *Clemẽt* the ſeuenth promiſing generall counſayle, & yet ſtill entermingling continual and moſt blody warres betwen all Chriſtian princes, wher by to hinder & ſtop the ſame.

Enterpriſe agaynſt Rochell whiche to hinder the houlding of the Eſtates.

The *Quene mother* commaũdeth the lords of *Puygalliard* and *Andereau* to inuent ſome policie to ſurpriſe the citie of *Rochel* which with all expedicion they do goe about, & to the ſame end hauinge practiſed ſundry bothe ſouldiers and burgeſes of the ſame town, they shold haue cauſed the gariſons of S. *Iohn d' Angety*, *Nion*, and *Angoleſme* to haue at the nexte reuiew

marched

marched vnto *La Fonds*, a village not farre of, and thence by breake of the next day into the city, by a gate which theyr practiſed frendes should ſett open.

About the ſame time alſo that this deuice shoulde haue bene put in execution, the late King and the Queene his mother lay at *Chantilly*, ready to apprehend the Duke of *Mõmorency* in his owne houſe. They had alſo layd an other trayne to entrappe the *Marshall d' Amuill*, but he ſmelling out the ſame, put to death ſundry of the practiſoures vnder pretence that they had enterpriſed agaynſt *Montpillier* where hee then ſoiorned. There were commiſſions alſo directed through all *France* concerninge the men of armes, vnder coulèr of the warres in *Langendoc* notwithſtandinge the truce was not yet expired.

The *Coũty de Rhetz* alſo practiſed a leuying of men in *Germany* through the helpe of foure thouſand frãckes which he had tranſported thether, part wherof came afterward to the handes of *County Lodowick* wherwith he did arrear warres againſt the King of *Spayne* in hope alſo to haue ſurpriſed *Maſtricht* and *Antwerpe* both the towne and caſtle.

God

God therefore pitying this our miserable estate, stirred vpp one gentelman of the same confederacy, who being priuy to all the generall murder afredye concluded vpon, and to the rootinge out of the most sufficient and noble famelyes throughout the realme, notwithstanding hee were a Catholike, yet did discouer parte of these enterprises vnto the *Rochelers* by two seuerall letters which hee directed vnto them, vpō which warning they toke better heed to them selues and apprehended certayne of the same conspiracy: Now therefore I pray you, what dothe our good Queene when she vnderstood this practise to bee discouered: haue you not heard how before, she caused to slaye all the protestants at theyr retorne from *Mons*, whō her selfe and the king had sett on worcke? The like reward doth shee bestow vpon the *Rochelers*, writing vnto the gouernors of the citye, that neyther the king, neyther her self were euer accessary to this cōfederacy, and therfore by the Lorde of S. *Supplice*, shee giueth them to vnderstand that they can not doe vnto her any more acceptable seruice, then with all extremitye to punyshe all those whiche should bee

found gilty of this crime as infringers of the peace and perturbers of the cõmon quyet: VVas not this (suppose you) a good recompence for theyr paynes? Venture your liues at her pleasure, for in case you misse of your purpose, she will hange you for your labors: All these men in theyr examinations, affirmed and stedfastly confessed hir to be their setter on. And to say the truth, presently vpon the discouery of this, euen the next daye, she began an other, causing to write vnto one whose father had bene maior of *Rochell*, which came not so sone to light: And althogh in both these practises she still missed of *Rochel*, yet wer they not enterprised in vayn: For if ye remember, she feared the assembly of the estates, but now the protestãtes hearinge of these dealynges, began in *Poictow* to arme them selues for the preseruation of theyr liues, whose example sundry *Normans* fearing the lyke danger to themselues, did imitate.

Thus was the realme once agayne troubled, whereby shee had, as shee supposed, a lawfull occasion not to assemble the estates,

Vntill

Vntill this time had she kept on a maske of religion, dealing directly with none but protestantes, notwithstanding that those, who more narowly sifted hir doings espyed the hipocrisye whiche appeared through her viserd.

Now therfore shee perceuing the chiefest and most noble of the protestants almost extinguished, and that there remained but as it were a handfull of them: she taketh & ioyneth directly against the Catholikes themselues, but not all at once, for some muste serue as hangemen vnto the rest, and so the one may most cruelly execute the other.

Katherin directly a- gaynst the Catholiks

The most earnest Catholikes in *France* had misliked of these dealigs, namely that in place of faithfully & vprightly maintayning the peace so solemnly made and sworne vnto, during the cõtinuance wherof they doubted not but that many of the protestantes might by preachinges and exhortacions be reuoked to their auncient religion, also that by a lawfull counsayle and assembly of the estates, the people myght bee reynyted agayne into mutuall loue and frindshippe, now men

had gotten recourse vnto cruell murders, disloyall dealinges, and trayterous trecheries, by meanes whereof, both the contry and nation were become odious vnto all the world and to speake vprightly, duringe the most heartes of the slaughters aforenamed, the chiefest Cotholickes did preserue so many of the protestantes, as possibly they might, vpon whiche occasion, shee often sayd, that shee had not supposed that the subiectes had borne so small affection vnto the king, but that shee had alwayes perswaded her selfe that at his coumaundement they would haue slayn all without exception, in so much that who so would serch who were the executioners, he shall finde, (except a few which practised their own reuenges) none but rascalls, who in hope of spoyle, not regardinge from whence it came, and a few blasfemers of god, cōtemners of al religion, who slew both Catholickes and protestantes, one amonge an other, eyther for theyr goods, or else vpon some malice and hatred, or profes which they had agaynst them, to haue bene partakers in this slauter.

Who were the executioners of the murders at Paris.

Yea

Yea the Queene, who knewe well enough that the moſte parte of the mighty men of this kingdome did deteſt and abhorre theſe her ſo horrible miſchifes, durſt not open vnto them her driftes: But choſe onely the *Duke* of *Neuers* and the *County de Rhets* to bee conductors of the ſame: both men aſſuredly worthy ſo high and valeant an exploite, both ſtrangers and therfore not ſuſpected of any affection to the contrye: *Italyens*, who doe tryumphe in treaſon: in murdering men in theyr bedds: and ſlaying men comming behinde them, or takynge all aduantage poſſible: one of them beyng of the famely of *Gonzague* of all antiquitie allyed vnto the *Spanyardes* againſt this kingdome, and him ſelfe at this preſent pentioner vnto the ſayd kynge of *Spayne*:
The other a very varlet, grown vp throgh bauderyes and ruffianlye beehauiour, who ſeketh nothinge but the exturpation of the nobilitye, which is enuiemy to his villanye, yea and is not ashamed, notwithſtandinge all the vvelth vvhervnto hee hath attayned in this king-

dome, to beecome neuertheleſſe pen-
cioner vnto the king of *Spayne*. But as tou-
chyng the *Duke of Guiſe*, when the kynge
firſt motioned vnto him the murderig of
the *Admirall* after that maner, it is vvell
knowen that he made anſweare how that
he coulde not finde in his harte after that
ſort to be reuēdged: howbeit if it pleaſed
his maieſtie, according to his auctory tye,
to commit them both into a cloſe fielde,
man to man, then would God shew in the
end who had right or committed wrong,
neuertheleſſe, through theyr importuna-
cye he was finally brought to condiſcend
therevnto, but with ſolemne protſtation
that it was only for his obediēce ſake vn-
to the kinge: and in deede him ſelfe ſaued
diuers gentlemen, and withheld his whole
gouernment from al ſlaughters. Ther wer
alſo many lords who made open proteſta-
tiō that they miſliked of theſe ſo extreme
cruelties, & others who fled the court leaſt
thei ſhold ſeem partakers in ſo pernitious
coūſayles: ſeeing alſo that they had plainly
perceued at the ſiedge of *Rochel*, wher they
had bene, that religion was no longer the
occaſiō & that her viſerd being pulled of,
they ſee that ſhe ſought by one meanes or

The duke of Guiſe is loth after any ſuche maner to ſlay the Admiral.

other

other, nothing but to bring the whole nobilitie to destruction.

Of this number were the Lordes of *Mommorency*, the *Marshal de Cosse* and others, who because they had not wett theyr blades so largely in french blood as was wisshed, neyther vowed them selues to the Queenes partye by some notable wickednesse, were accompted amonge the capitall ennemyes: and of them, theyr seruantes, and deerest frendes, would she bee dispatched with all speed possible.

An enterprise against the house of Momorency and others.

They had escaped vpon *Saint Bartlemewes* daye: afterward *Montrcuet* the manslear, being by the Queen hyered, was cōmaunded at *Fountainbeleau* to kill the Duke of *Mommorency*: an other time they vvatched the said Duke with a certayne nomber of horses in the forest of *Soysons*: and in case she had bene, at the instant request of the people, compelled to keepe the estates, she was resolued ther to entrap thē. Finally about this time, they came to wayt vpō the king, vnto *Boys de Vincennes*, whither (sayth she) his maiesti vnder pretēce of his seruice called thē for the establishīg of his kigdō: nether cam thei thether, as beig ignorāt of their enimies determinatiōs, for alredi thei

ſufficient experience of their mindes, but truſting in their own innocency, they referred the reſt vnto *God*, whom they toke for their shild, ſeing it pleaſed their prince to call thē, & to open vnto thē his mindes, to the end to know their aduiſe in matters concerning the vniuerſall coinmodity of their contry. But thear remayned yet one let, which hindred the execution of any enterpriſe agaynſt their perſons, and that was this, that my lorde the *Marshall d' Anuil* was in *Languedock*, who in cace he shold heare or know any thinge heareof, had meanes enough to be reuendged: he about the ſame time had ſent the lord of *Montalere*, the maſter of his campe, to moue the kinge to ſende ſuccour as well of money as men, to mainteyn the warre agaynſt the proteſtantes in *Languedock*. whervnto the queene anſwered all in cōtraries, namely that ther was no more to doe but to harkē after peace, affirming that the king at what price ſo euer it were, was very deſirous of the ſame, wherefore she deſired the ſayde lorde *d' Anuille* to trauayl earneſtly therin & not to refuſe the opiniō & aduiſe of the Cardinall of *Armignac*, who was reſident in *Auignion*.

Enterpriſe againſt the Marshal de Anuile

VVithin

VVithin a while she sent vnto him the Lordes of sainct Supplice and of Villeroy the Secretary of the Kinges commaũdemẽts, vnder coulor to agree vpon a peace, but in deede, to deuise some meanes vvith the Lordes of *Ioyeuse*, *Maugeron* and *Furgaunaux*, how to sease vpon his person, and to apprehend him eyther dead or in life.

VVhile this practise was in hande, the king commendeth al his affayres vnto the Duke of Mommorency, & putteth al into his hands, desiring him that as the faith fullest seruant whome he knoweth within his dominions, and one whome he loueth, not as a brother in lawe, but as a naturall brother, hee would deuise some meanes how to pacifie his estate. The Queene also assureth him that the king will no longer be gouerned other then by his aduice, also that vvhatsoeuer articles shall bee propounded, the same is his maiestie minded to graunt vnto his subiectes, and to bee briefe, shee appoynteth him arbitre in all thinges.

The Duke of Mommorency put in al trust by the king

This order continewed a vvhyle, euen vntill such tyme as the king, who since his iorney vnto *Vitry* whither he cõducted the king of *Poole* had scarce had his healthe,

beganne to waxe worſe and worſe, and to become very leane and to faule awaye, wherevpon the phiſitions conceaued but ſmal hope of his recouerie, and wer it that they iudged him to be conſumed with poiſon, (ordinarely tearmed a pike ſauce) or otherwiſe, yet ſurely they aſſured the Queene that he woulde hardly eſcape the moneth of *April*. Her ſouthſaiers in whom she repoſed great confydence, were of the ſame minde, vvherefore it vvas time to prouid againſt the chandge. She had of longe tyme perceaued that my lorde the *Duke* her ſonne condemned her treaſons and cruelties, and miſliked of that, that she made ſo ſmal accompt of the roting out of the nobilytie, & of maynteyning the warres for the ſame purpoſe, vnto the great detrimēt of the people, & in maner the vtter deſtruction of the whol realme, for the ſame cauſe shee hated this his ſo gentle, manifeſt, & aſſured frēch nature, nothīg cōparable vnto her, which delited in nothīg but ruine and deſolatiō. Again, she perceaued that in cace the kinge dyed, (as it was no other like) the whole regyment of the kingdome, by ryght appertained vnto him during the abſence of the

Slaunders rayſed to brīg the Duke d' Alenſon, into contempt, and vpon what occaſion.

Kinge

Kitge of *Poole*, as beyng the next of the blood,& liuetenāt vnto the kīg *Charles* in all the lands of his obediēce. Alſo ther was no likelihood of the king of *Pooles* ſpeedy retorn, for the *Poloners* had before his coro nation forced him to ſweare, that vpon no occaſion what ſoeuer, yea in caſe the king his brother died, yet should not he in any wiſe forſake thē. Againe they had bene at great charge beefore he could be brought thether,& are people vvhich will haue all promyſes kept. Alſo the way is tedious, his perſon weak,& no ſmal danger to depart, without bidding thē farewel: To gett ther fore the gouernment agayn into her own handes,& therof to depriue my ſayd lord the Duke her ſonne, vnto whom the lawes of the realme & al aūcient cuſtoumes did before giue the ſame, ſhe determined with cōueniēt ſpeed to bring him into the ha- tred of the catholikes, through ſelāders & falſe reportes, affirminge that at the ſame time that the Proteſtantes had againe ta- ken wepon in hande, he had gotten intel- ligēce with thē, vnder coulour wherof ſhe cauſeth to take the wepōs frō his gard. pro curing him to be narowly looked vnto,& keepeth him as it were priſoner at *Boys de Vincennes*

The duke d'Alenſon emprisoned

Vincennes aforenamed, and with him the kinge of *Nauarre*. This dyd she not tearme flatly a priſon, for that worde had ben to odious, notwithſtanding that, he could not go forth without a garde vnto whom she gaue moſt ſtraight charge ouer him, whereby he durſt talke with no man, but was ſo ſtrayghtly watched, as to tel his ſteppes and count his woordes, and the weaker that the kīg waxed, the more occaſiōs foūd she to reſtrain him of his liberty whereby this young prince, being of a coragious and valeant minde, conſydering that his owne mother vſed ſuch extremitie towarde him, grew into ſuch diſpayre, that he determined to withdraw him ſelfe vnto the *County Lodowick* of *Naſſaw* with a fewe of his houſhold ſeruantes, and the cauſe why he choſe that place to goe vnto rather any other, as to haue gon into *England*, whereas not longe ſince there was a marriadge motioned for him: was becauſe he would not remaine in any place, where his abode might procure ſuſpicion, vvhat league ſoeuer there were, but he choſe rather to be in ſome place wher he might do vnto his brother ſome acceptable ſeruice: For about the ſame time *The County Lodo-*

The Duke d' Alenſon determineth to goe to the Coũty Lodouick

wick

wick hadde an armye of *Germaynes* in the kinges paye vpon the borders of *Brabant*, whiche the *County of* Rhetz hadde newly brought vnto him, wherewithal to continewe warre agaynst the king of *Spayne*, & had receaued of the sayde *County de* Rhetz, two hundred and fourty thousand francks, notwithstandyng his cõmission stretched to deliuer a whole hundred thousand crownes, but the rest he reserued to buy him selfe pinnes. Besides that, vnder his maiesties warrãt two thousand french footemen were marching toward his succour, whome the gouernours of *Metz*, *Thoul*, *Verdune*, and others the principall frontier towns, did quietly permit to departe from theyr banners with their furniture vnder the chardge of *Capeyne Brazet* a Germayne and of the lorde *Estrhe*, accordyng to a treaty sundry times motioned vnto the said lord the *Coũty Lodwick* by *Iohn Valcas Fragose* & with the king in the name of the prince of *Orendge* by the lorde of *Humbres*. This enterprise beig discouered semed a reasonable occasiõ more straightly to restrayne this poore prince, and in stead of publishing the trueth, she persiuered in dispersing a thousand slan-

ders,

ders; for her whole drifte was at the death of the kynge to be ſure of his perſon:

The king of Nauarre empriſoned.

She alſo at the ſame time ſeazed vpon her ſonne in lawe the kinge of *Nauarre*, And for that the *Prince of Conde*, vvas at his gouernmēt in Picardy, whither the king had before ſent him, notwithſtanding he were not participant or of knowledge in this enterpriſe, yet ſent ſhe her letters vnto the cardinal of *Cregny* and the lord of *Creuecoeur* lieuetenāt to the ſayd prince, for to apprehend him in Amyens, where he was then reſidēt, writīg alſo vnto the mayor of the ſayde citie, with the help of the commons, to aſſiſt them, inſomuch that had he not miſtruſted ſomething, as wel by the words which he heard of the poſt, as alſo by ſuch preparatiues as he perceaued, he had bene priſoner ſo well as the reſt: But he withdrewe him ſelfe to his houſe at *Muret* vnder coulor of goyng on huntinge, whereas hearinge that My lorde the *Duke d'Alenſon* and the kinge of *Nauarre* were in hold, he toke his iorney toward *Germany* & paſſing by *Fere* gaue warnīg vnto my lord of *Thore* who vnderſtādig that thei both had & ſtil did lay hands vpō the prīcipal ſeruāts belōgig to my lord the *duke* aforſaid,

An enterpriſe againſt the Prince of Conde.

fearing

fearing leſt him ſelfe ſhold be one of the firſt that ſhold be ſought for, he determined to depart the realme.

This was the whole trueth of the matter, neyther were they euer otherwiſe determined: Marke therefore, how this agreth with ſuch thinges as ſhe would perſwade the worlde. There was ſaith ſhe a great cõſpiracy found out: my lorde the *Duke d' Alenſon* was minded to haue fled to the proteſtantes and ſo to haue moleſted the whole realme: By theſe reportes he becãe odious among the catholickes; Againe he determined to reuendge the bloody *Sainct Bartholmewes* feaſt at *Paris*, & vpon *Eaſter day* during high meſſe, he woulde haue ſet fyre in ſundry places of the citie, whereby to bring it all into ashes. Theſe deuiſes haue brought him into diſpleaſure in the capitall cityes of the realme, and ſo conſequẽtly in al the reſt: Thus doth ſhe pretẽd to attcine vnto her purpoſe. The proteſtãts, whẽ ſhe wẽt about to murder them, had cõſpired: ſo had now theſe poore princes, becauſe they might be kept priſoners, & that their liues ſhold remai in hir hãds, wherby they were to be ordered as might beſt ſtãde with maintenãce of her tirãny:

Slanders rayſed againſt the Duke d' Alenſon concerning a new cõſpiracye.

you did see *Briquemault* and *Cauannes* openly executed, to the ende to set some shew vpon the conspiracie of the *Admiral* and to iustifye the feast of *Sainct Barthelmew*: euen so might you here haue seene the execution of the *County Coconnaz* the lorde *de la Maule* and others, whereby to coulor the emprisonment of these poore princes.

This matter better examined.

I praye you let vs diligently examine this matter, and not to be ledd with euery report: Let vs so open our eyes, as that the mistes of these iuglers may no lenger abuse our syght with contrarye thinges. In case this conspiracy be trew, then must we endeuour most greuously to punishe the conspirators: But yf it be false, then ought we to our powers to deliuer our princes from beinge oppressed vvith slanders: It is our partes to open the prisons, to take the irons from theyr legges, and to restore them vnto the degree whiche of right belongeth vnto them: For this cause be wee in armes, and therefore we are bound to deuide the false pretence of theyr emprisonment from the true cause, the slander from the accusation, and the coulor of iustice from the euident in-

iury

iurye offered vnto them.

My lord the *Duke* (say they) hath entelligence with the protestantes through the counsayle of the Lorde *de Thore*, the *Vicoũte of Thurenne*, the *County of Coconnaz*, and the lord *de la Maule*: Consyder I pray you whō he hath chosen for his counsaylours in these affayres. *A confutatiō of these sclanders.*

The Lorde *de Thore*, sonne to my late lord the *Constable*, one who hath bene presente in most battayles agaynst the protestantes, wherein he hath so behaued him selfe, that there is no man, who doth not acōpt him one of the most affectionate and deuout Catholikes in this realme.

The Vicount of Thurenne his nephewe, a younge lord, catholikly brought vp euen from his youth, who in the view of al men wrought vvonders at the siedge of *Rochell*, vvhom nowe, for a recompēce, they cause the lorde of *Maguaue* to pursue a hundred leages, whereby to entrape him.

The *County of Coronnaz* who was as earnest as any other in the murder of *S. Bartleme w*, and conducted all the Mynes at *Rochell* wherin he so traueiled that al mē thought him worthy of rewarde.

The Lorde *de la Maule* vvho twise vvas

vvounded and was a dayly hearer of *Messe*, yea, euen in the middest of the warres, and among all the courtly corruptions, which had he missed of but one daye, hee would haue doubted of some great mischief that day hanging ouer his head.

I speake onely of such men as all the vvorld dyd knowe, neither vvryte I any thinge vvhich all such as had any dealings at the court will not testifye. But bicause my Lorde the Duke loued them, they must be the firste talked vvithall.

VVere not these, thincke you, meet men to haue counsayled any such intelligences vvith the protestantes?

Now whervnto did this entelligence tend. To the burning (say they) of the citie of *Paris*, in reuenge of the murders of the Protestantes.

Those men, vvho all theyr life times haue at all assayes warred against the protestāts, vvho with the hazard of theyr liues haue continually endeuored to root them out, will now endanger themselues in theyr reuenge. This is a likely matter.

Agayne, in cace they had ben thus minded: would they haue delt agaynste the burgesses of *Paris*, amōg whom they haue innumerable

innumerable frendes of all qualities, vvho but to their great griefe, did not behould theſe cruelties, and among whom could be found none but raskals to deale therein? Had it not bene farre more reaſonable to haue diſpatched (ſeing they were ſo bent) three or foure ſtraungers whiche gaue the counſayle, framed the practiſe, and vvere partly the executioners of the ſame.

But peraduenture it vvas an eaſy matter to bringe theyr purpoſe to paſſe in *Paris*: That iudge you: ſeinge it is the beſt inhabited citie in Chriſtendome, replenished with gentlemen, and at no time deſtitute of ſouldiers, into the vvhich, an ennemy vvith forty thouſand men, notvvithſtandinge the gates vvere left open, durſt hardly venture to come.

VVhat preparations were there I pray you found, concerninge any ſuch enterpriſe? For if it should, (according to their ſayinges) haue bene put in execution the next day after their apprehēſion, then doe theſe men well, to put nothing in writing, leaſt they shold reproue thēſelues of falshod, & therby to ſatisfie their own fātaſies by abusīng the peple with fals reports which they publish in publike places & mar-

haue they I beſeeche you diſcouered any nũber of extraordinarie ſouldiers in the citie? Of that, I refeerre my ſelfe vnto the common counſaile, who cuſtũably haue perticuler aduertiſments of ſuche asdoe dayly aryue in euery quater of the ſame. Haue they founde in any of their houſes whom they haue apprehended, any weapons hidden vpp? any wylde or artifyciall fyre, or ſuch like things? to be briefe, haue they diſcouered in any corner, ſtreete, or houſe in al the citie, any likelihood of that whiche they woulde make the people to beleeue, to the ende to bryng into hatred this poore prince, vvho beareth heartye good vvyll vnto them, and vnto al other his affectionate ſeruauntes? You wyl peraduenture tell me that my Lordes of the court of *Parliament* would not haue cõdẽned ſuch a man without lawful cauſe. But who ſo is of that minde, is ignorant what tyrannye meaneth. Our owne liues are more deare vnto vs, thẽ any other bodies. In the world there be but few ſo valiant, as to refuſe to cõdẽne an innocẽt to death, in cace (to force them therto) the knife be holdẽ readi ouer their throts. But aske my ſaid lords of that court, wherof they haue

The proces againſt the County Cocommaz & the lord de la maule

deriued

deriued their proceſſe, whither they haue confeſſed any thing that was layd to their chardges, whither they haue herd any one witneſſe, or whither they haue found any coniecture or preſumption: Aſſuredly there is none of them all, but priuately will ſay, no. VVe may well think that they, whoſe wyues, children, goods, yea and their own perſons do remain at *Paris* wold wiligly haue proceded againſt thoſe which went about to burn them vp: wher as contrariwiſe, when theſe iudges were expreſſely commaunded to put them to death, they ſent to the king to declare vnto him that in theſe men they founde no ſufficient cauſe of condemnation, affirming that they hadde examined them, and ſeueraly ſounded them ſo deepe as might be, but could get no other of them, ſauing that they were very wiling to ſerue & obey my lord the *duke* their maiſter in his determinatiō to retire to the *coūty Lodo uick*: alſo for as much as the *king* had neuer proclamed hī his enemy, they cold not vp on this sīple cōfeſſiō in cōſciēce cōdēn thē to deth: whervnto the *queene* anſwered ſaying that they muſt neuertheles dye, other wiſe the *king* will not be well pleſed. Here

may you see a goodly form of procedigs: who so is determined to put any man to death shal at al times find cause sufficient. vvel hervpon she found this prety shift to ease the consciences of my said lords of the court, nameli that seing ther was no other cause wherfore they shold not dy, the *king* wold declare vnto thē, that he at all times tompted the County *Lodouick* for his enemy: and in deede she caused to be dispatched such letters signed with the Kinges hād, for their discharge, which wer layd vp in the bottom of their proces bag. Herevpon were these poore gentlemen condēned as guilty of felony (without originall of the proces) as being a capitall crime of the vassal against his Lorde whereby to bring them into greater hatred among al men.

The examination of theyr processe.

Consider I pray you, how now a dayes a court of *parliament* is forcid to bow vnto tiranny. The law condemneth to deth such as fly to the enemy. That is troth: But he must first be houlden and proclaimed an enemy. Now in cace the courts of *parliment* who haue the liues of men in their hands, & therfore shold know such things, be ignorant that the County *Lodouick* is the

kinges

kinges enemy, may not therfore the *county Coconnaz*, *la Maule*, and other perticuler gē-tlemen, affectionate ſeruaunts to their ma ſters, iuſtly be ignorāt therof? again when as cōtrariwiſe, in a place of open war or en nemity, they ſe that the *king* ſendeth dayly worshipful *Embaſſadors* to deuiſe of theire ſecret intellegēces, he receueth frō thēce or dinarily meſſenges, he fornisheth coine to raiſe an army of reiſtrs againſt his brother in law the *king* of *Spain*, by the hands of the *County de Rhets* a *Marshal* of *France*, one who is cheife about his perſon, apointeth their *Colonnels* & *reiſtre* maſters by the meanes of *Fregoſe* to be his pentioners, & vnfurni-sheth *Mets*, *Thow*, *Verdune*, & other, coaſte townes for their ſuccour (I will not here ſpeake of the enterpriſes agaynſte Maſ-tright and *Antwerp* both the town and ca-ſtel, wherin they might haue ſome ſecrete deligs) had not they then iuſt cauſe to be-leue that the *king* acoūted him his frēd & therfore might lawfuly folow their maſt-er into his ſeruice, ſeig alſo that before the murder of S. *Bart.* the *king* had ſpokē vnto my ſaid lord the *duke*, of creatig hī general in the wars of the low cōtries againſt the *king* of *Spain* throgh the means of the *prince*

Orendge and his brother the *County Lodouick*, & that euen lately not a month ſince, the *queen* had again talked with him about the ſame, accordig vnto certain propoſitions of the ſaid *coũty Lodouick*. It shal, belike, be now lawful when ſoeuer they be diſpoſed to put any man to deth, for to aleage that he hath conferred with an ennemy to the realm, & then to declare ſome one of hys frendes, an enemy, expreſſely thereby to condemn him: wherfore then do they not procede againſt the *Marshal de Rhetz*, *Galeaz*, *Fregoſe*, and many others, who haue paid the money into his owne handes for the proſecutinge of this warre? Bee not they farre more culpable then theſe poore gẽtlemẽ? In caſe any wil deal ſo rigorouſly with them, cã they excuſe them ſelues, vnles the ſtrãgers, in our own realm do liue vnder any other law then our own prĩces, and that treaſon in ſome bee innocency, and in other ſom, innocẽcy be treſon? But to be briefe there was no remedy but they muſt dy cõtrary to all equity: for the *queene* wold needes perſwade that, notwithſtãding ther was no ſuch likelihood, yet this poore *prince* hadde conſpired, by this meanes to bring him into all mens

hatred

hatred,& to finde ſome pretence,wherby, in cace the kings deathe,which is affirmed to draw neere,should happen,to haue him in ſtraight and ſure keping.

Yet was not this ſufficient. For if shee deteigneth my Lorde the Duke hir ſonne priſoner,and the kinge chance to dye, the chief officers of the crown might perhaps withſtande hir,bicauſe all right of regimēt ouer the Realme appertaineth vnto him, vntill the retorne of the king of Poole,& therefore would not (as she feareth) ſuffer hir to accomplish the deſtruction of this poore and deſolate kingedome of France, throgh hir ordinary cruelties & miſchiefs. She hath therefore cōcluded to laye hould vpon their perſons,to the end ther may re mayn none which might bee ſo bould,as once to open his mouth & alleage the aūciēt lawes which at al times haue ben practiſed in this realm. She hath alredy the *Marshals Mommorency & de Coſſe* at the court,as it wer in hir hāds, neuertheleſſe before she laieth any hould vpon thē,she muſt heare ſome tidinges of the enterpriſe beegon againſt the perſon of my lord the *marshal d'Anuil* their brother and cōfederate.

During therfore theſe things,ther came a

poſt out of *Languedock*, who shewed hir that this enterpriſe vvas cõningly framed, from the vvhich it will be vnpoſsible for him to eſcape: But as God wold, being onward of his iorney, he was aduertiſed of an embushe layde for hym, and ſo returned incontynently. In the meane time the Queene, who thought him ſure ynough, in a morning, cauſed to apprehend the Marshals *Mommorency*, and *de Coſſe*, and preſentely to conueye them to the Baſtile, with a dromme ſtriken vp before them in skorne, and many reprochfull wordes of the people, as agaynſte infamous and moſte crymynall perſons: Alſo at the ſame tyme, shee diſpatched certayn companies to apprehend the lord of *Meru* their brother and ſonne in lawe, but a litle before hee was gone from hys houſe, and therfore they aprehended ſuch of his ſeruauntes as they could fynde.

The marshall d' Amuill aduertiſed of an embushment agaynſt him

The marshals apprehended.

A confutation of the ſlaunders agaynſt them.

If you demaunde, what theſe poore lordes haue done, wherefore the deſerue ſuch entertainmẽt, shee wil aunſwere that they alſo haue conſpired againſte theyr maieſties, and haue enterpriſed againſt the kings own perſon: for thus hath she cauſed the king to write to al the gouernours of

his

his prouinces: and nowe shall you see the likelihoodes. You may almost gesse how long it is since that this drifte agaynst the Marshall *d' Anuill* was begonne. If it were for this conspiracy that shee woulde apprehend him among the rest, as they doe gyue forth that it was, then belike the same was dyscouered before there were any commyssyon to take hym: If it were discloſed, then shoulde the Kyng by al reason haue furnished him self ther-against, vpon far lesse occasions hath hee strengthened his Gardes afore time: At the leaste wise, it was not meete that hee shoulde commytte hys lyfe into their handes which endeuored to take the same from hym. But marcke I praye you whither he tooke any heede, whyther hee mistrusted any thing, yea whyther hee hath any, euen the leaſt mynde in the worlde, thereof? All this tyme my lorde of *Mommorancy* is about his maiesties person at Boys de Vincennes, hee goeth where he lyste, he doeth what plese him, hee commaundeth the Garde of the kinges own person, who are expresſely charged to obey hym, he hath the keies of the castle in his own handes, he giueth the

watch

watch worde, he hath as ful auctoritie as a *Conſtable* may haue, yea euen the night before he was apprehended. Is not this then to hould forth his throat to whom ſoeuer wil cut the ſame? Is not this (if we credite theyr lyes) to commit himſelfe into the handes of traytors, and as you vvoulde ſaye, to conſpire againſte himſelfe? Is it credible that a man hauinge ſuche an opinion of an other, can repoſe ſuche confidence in hym? But contrarywiſe the Queene knew him for ſo good a man, that she was well aſſured it would neuer enter into his harte to abuſe any ſuch auctority, and therfore did permit the ſame to him expreſſly, to the ende to put him out of all doubt, vntill the time were comen that he muſt be apprehended: euen or about the ſame tyme that the practiſe agaynſt *Rochel* shuld haue bene put in execution, after the which moſt haue ſucceded a generall murder, namely of thoſe Lordes which now are in queſtion, The king and the Queene lodged at *Chantilly* a houſe of the Duke of *Mommorencye*, wheras they would no garde but his owne, therby to declar what truth they repoſed in his honeſtie. Hereby it is eaſy to iudge whether

he

he hath conſpired, or others haue cõſpired againſt him. As for the *Marshal de Coſſe*, who hath don ſo great ſeruice in peace & war, in both forrein and ciuill warres, and for the *Marshall d'Anuill*, who hath continued ſuch sharpe warres againſt the proteſtants in *Languedoc*k, notwithſtanding whatſoeuer occaſions of diſcontentation that hee had, who onely among all thoſe which theſe two yeres haue cõtinewed the warrs, haue had many towns, who hath ventured his own perſon, & loſt his brother in law the lorde of *Candall*, who now at the expres commãdement of his maieſty, ſeeketh but to pacifie his regiment, for which cauſe this ſnare is ſet for him, what may be alled ged againſt them both, or wherwith may they be noted, ſauīg that they be *Marshals of France*, cheife officers of this crowne, who according to theyr dutyes ought to put to theyr handes that the realme may be gouerned by them to whom of right it appertayneth? and ſuche as for the profit of theyr contry (in cace the kinge should dye) would vſe theyr auctoritie? or what may be imputed to the lord of *Meru*, Colonel generall of the Zuitzers, who hath aſſiſted at euery ciuill battayle vvith renoume,

noume, eueu at the ſiedge of *Rochell* after the ſlaughter of *S. Bartlemew*, vvhere hee vvas almoſte ſlayne, ſauinge that hee is the ſonne of a *Conſtable of France*, and of a famely which of longe tyme hath gouerned the affayres of the Realme to all mens contentation, & yet needes muſt bee rooted out?

But God bee prayſed that the *Prince of Conde*, is eſcaped, whom the Queene will not permitt to approch ſo neer to the crowu, alſo that the *Marshall d' Amuill* had warninge in tyme of the embashment which wayted for him:

For aſſuredly I wott not what this *Medea* would haue done with theſe poor princts, neyther do I doubt, bnt we should haue ſene moſt pitifull and miſerable ſightes, alſo ſome ſaint newly renowmed through the ſlaughter of ſome Catholike gentlemen good frendes and faythfull ſeruantes to thoſe who preſently are pryſoners, and peraduenture after them, shee woulde haue proceeded agaynſt others.

Charls the 9. dyeth.

The thyrty day of May the king dyed, the Queene immedyatly commeth to the *Loure* at *Paris*, with theſe princes she

cauſeth

cauſeth to grate vp the vvyndowes, to dām vp the gates, shet vp all entries, and to ſtrengthen the garde leaſt theſe gentlemē shold be gotten from her, and to be briefe, retayneth the whole regiment in her own handes, vſurping the title of Regent, ludge therefore now by the ende whereunto you knovv her to bee arriued, and thincke vpon the truth of ſuche thinges as I haue heretofore diſcourſed vpon: I might here declare hovv by the *Salike lawes* vvomen haue as ſmall right to rule and gouerne our Kingedome, as to pretend to any ſucceſsion in the ſame, & that whenſoeuer the contrary hathe chaunced, it hath bene onely through manifeſt abuſe, whereof we haue at all tymes borne the ſmart: alſo that the publick affaires conſiſt not in that this vvoman is called queene, or beareth a crown, but in that for the moſt part, she ruleth all thinges after the appetite of ſuche immoderate paſsions, as she is tranſported vvithall, and of the firſte perſon vvho by any ſubtiltie, through his endeuour, can atteyne vnto her fauour, as our hiſtories doe teſtifye.

Katherine vſurpeth the regencie

But admit this vvomans cruelties take

place

place in this kingdome, & that ſome curſed examples doe conclude a conſequent, is it therefore lawefull to declare her ſelfe Regent, or for her to gouerne? Is there no more to doe, but to cauſe a ſecretary ſo to vvrite vpon the pacquets? or is it ſufficient to ſay with *Pope Iohn the twenty & three: Ego ſum Papa*? I pray you who hath named the Queene mother Regent of *France*? was it the late king? It is poſsible that, as in his life time he ſpake but with his mouth, ſhe ſhould now at his death cauſe him to nominate her? I doubt not but at his death at the laſt gaſpe, through her importunacie, she wroung out of him ſome *yea*, wher with to coulor her preſomption: And in deede it ſeemeth by the declaration which she hath published, that she vvas the ſame daye that he dyed, by his mouth declared Regent, notwithſtandinge that, to abuſe the people, shee at the firſt blaſt ſo nameth her ſelfe, bicauſe of his ſickneſſe, at what tyme his diſeaſe waxed deſperate, and himſelfe drew vnto the laſt houre.
But admit the late kinge had made a will, (as in deede he did not) had ſealed it, that it had ben autentical, and that in the ſame hee had created her Regent, had he any

auctoritie

auctoritie ſo to doe? Regencies eyther be they, or euer were they giuen by wil? Here is the poinct. Kinges are eſtabliſhed of God, as adminiſtrators of realmes: During their liues they doe make their ſubiectes partakers in the adminiſtrations of the ſame: The good men by a lawful coũſell, after the opinion whereof they doe iudge of the capacitie and merites of eache perſon: The euell men, after the appetite of the paſsions either of themſelues, either of ſuch as doe poſſeſſe them, preferringe for the moſt parte the euell man beefore the good, and the able man before him that is quite voyde of abilitie: yet is all this ſomwhat tolerable: But dyd euer any heare of a kinge who at his death gaue the adminiſtration of his realme, which now himſelf was at the poinct to loſe, vnto any other? either that one brother at his deceſe could appoynct a proctor for his other brother, who by right should ſuccede him, notwithſtanding that in his life time he might alienate his goodes, as our kinges may not, without the conſent of the eſtates? Or may a bishop name a ſteward or adminiſtrator of Churche goodes for his ſucceſſor? either to bee briefe, may any man after his

deceaſe be adminiſtrator of a bishope, or king? This is plaine mockery. The kinges them ſelues being priſoners, may not doe it, becauſe it is to be preſumed that their willes are alwayes captiue with theire perſonnes. Thus haue wee ſeene that neither Kyng Iohn beeing priſoner in England, neyther Fraunces the fyrſte, beeing kept at Madrill, did euer prouide for the adminiſtration of their realmes. But during the impriſonment of *king Iohn* the eſtates did prouide, and in the time of *king Frances*, the regent whom he euen lōg time before his captiuitie had nominated, was ready to be debarred. So long therfore as the late king liued, she had ſome shew wherby to gouerne, and in caſe during his ſickneſſe he had recōmended vnto her the regiment, thē was it euen to his laſte gaſpe, after a maner to be born withall: Neuertheleſſe the late Kynges auctoryty dyed and was buried with him, his commaundements loſt their force, and as by the deth of the commander or maſter, al his commandements and proxies are abolished, and the auctority to giue them is fallen to his ſucceſſor, euen ſo is al the power which the Kyng in hys lyfe tyme

Annales of fraunce. Mart. du Bellay li. 3

might seeme to haue giuen to the queene his mother, at his death broght to nought and all his auctoritie fallen to the Kyng of Poole his heyre and succeſſor. Doeth she therfore to the behoofe of our Kyng whyche is in Poleland, take vpon her the regency? In caſe she had ſome blancke, for ſom other affairs, ſigned by his own hãds, thẽ might she peraduẽture, haue replenished the ſame with whatſoeuer she ſuppoſed moſt fit to abuſe the people, but euen the next day after the kings deceaſe, I ſay, the *third* of *Iune* tooke she not ful poſſeſſion of that name? cauſed she not her ſelf openly to be declared regente by vertue of theſe declaratory letters, a whole mõth before our *king* could haue ſente to her any cõmiſsiõ for the regency? And yet admit that he now had ſent her cõfirmatiõ herein, what els may a man thinck, ſauing that ſeeing she had alredy vſurped it, he feared that if he shold deny her, she wold worck him ſome diſpleaſure, euen as wiſe men who will ſeeme to gyue that thing freely vnto others, which them ſelues can not take from them. Some man mighte alleadge that peraduenture the court of Parlyamente had graunted or con-

firmed the same to her.

But far lesse is the auctority that that court hath, and the contrary is to be sene, for it is euident that neuer courte of Parliament in this realme had any auctority in the matter now in question. Yea that is more, they haue no lenger power, they maye no more iudge any person, they can decyde no processe, To bee briefe, they be quite abolyshed and deade, vntill such time as the be newely confyrmed into a bodye by they confirmatory letters of the new *king*, and so be, as it were reuiued, or in case of his long absence, by an assembly of the estates. Ther is no counseler in the court which will deny me this poinct, & hath not alwaies sene the experiēce hereof. How therfore may my lords of the *Parlimēt* confirm to hir any such autority, seing thē selues haue none at al? considering they be no lēger? & that with the *king* they are dead, and can not be reuiued withoute the confirmatory letters of the new *king* who is in *Polonia*, or of the estates. To say it was at the instaunte requeste of my lordes the *duke* of *Alēcon* or of the *king* of *Nauar*, were a shift simple enough to deceiue babes. It is knowen how they be in

The parliamente at the kinges deceaſe leſeth his force.

bondage

bondage,any mā whoſe body is impriſoned cā not haue his ſpeech free, the grate the gards,and the enclоſures,do in my defence bere witnes againſt her. But now our king is abſent and far of & can not peraduenture ſo ſone retorn,& therfore it is to be feared leſt any thing might com to confuſion,vnleſſe ſome body had the gouernment of the affaires . I graunte it, and our lawes haue very well prouided againſt all ſuch incomeniences : and that is thus , that as it hath alwayes ben vſed at the change or long abſence of any king the eſtates shold duly be aſſembled,& according to their power shold declare a regente apointing him for his coūſaile,verteouſe and expert perſōs by whoſe aduice he shold rule and gouern the realm:when *king Iohn*(ſaith our hiſtories) was taken before *poiters* & led captiue into *englād*, *Charls duke* of *normādy* his eldeſt ſon,as beīg lieute nāt general of *king Iohn* his father,aſſēbled the 3.eſtates,to prouide for the regiment, during his fathers captiuitie: who being cauled and lawfully aſſembled at P arys, declared and proclaymed him regent of the kingdom,and decreed that they shold vſe his ſeales , whereas before the eſtates

Regency giuen in the kīgs abſence, by the eſtates The Annales of King Iohn.

had ſo declared him, he neuer tooke vpon him other name, thē lieutenāt to the King his father, as he was before his fathers em-priſonment, although he were the eldeſte ſonne and was come to adge. Before that king Frances wente towarde the conqueſt of *Millan*, the yere that he was taken at the ſiege of Pauy, he had left & cōſtituted his mother *lady Lewis* of *Sauoy* for regēt & gouerner: yet neuertheles the mightieſt men in the realm, the lordes of the *parliament*, & the citi of *Paris* did ſolicit my lord *Charls* the *duke* of *Vēdoſme* to take the regymēt vpō hī, as the next of the blod which thē he was as wel by reſō of the *nonage* of the children of *Frāce* as alſo by the abſence of the *duke* of *Alencō* and the reuolte of the *duke of Bourbō* promisig to aſſiſt him in the aſſēbly of the eſtates, & to the ſame end, to deale with the reſt of the cities in *France* to the end to proclaim him regēt, as of right they ought to do: & had he not ben more willing to forſake his right, thē in purchacing the ſame to be cauſe of ſom news, the eſtates wer determined to name him regēt & yet she was made regent before his taking, being of nothing ſo dangerous a nature as our Queene mother is, neyther

Mart. du Belai, li. 3.

detained

detayned she the officers of the crown in pryſon, but was partly gouerned by their counſaile. Theſe are exampls of our time & yet fresh in mind: who ſo shal make any farther ſerch, as in the voiages of our *kings* into the holy land, shall find the ſame order at all times obſerued: what therfore let teth vs frō doing the like? are our corages quailed? be our harts don? haue we abolished al our ancient and commendable cuſtumes? shal we permit our princes to bee throwen down from the places whiche to them apperteineth? what ſpeak I of being thrown down? nay rather oppreſſed with ſclanders, a womans priſoners, and in danger of their liues? wil you ēdure it mi lords of *Paris*, who were the heires of ſo many *Frenchmen*, which ſo wel haue meinteined the right of their prices? shal your citie be a fortreſſe to this tiranny? shall the houſe wherein you vſed ſo honorably to lodge your *king* ſerue now as a ſtraight priſon to their blood? do you tary for on or other of theſe forrein ſtrangers, to come and ſette fire in your houſes, ſpoile your fieldes, & deſtroy your farmes, therby to force you to ſet at liberty theſe poore priſoners, this the blood of your kinges, as thinking

vnder coulour that they are with in youre walls, you to be mainteiners of ſuch bondage: will you not bee ashamed that they who in no poinct ar boūd, shold now com & opē your priſōs to let your prices out: I cānot beleue that you haue ſo far forgottē al care of your *kings*, as that you wold not ſe thē in perfect liberty & in that autority which nature hath giuē thē & their vertu do deſerue: but peraduētur one of you loketh vpō another & waiteth who shal firſt ſet to his hād: yea but what feare you: a womā a ſtrāger, one whō al the world hateth one who hath no boldnes but by our cowardlines & is a murderer only by oure own hāds: if we leue her, if they which deteſt her gouernmēt do forſake her, where are hir ſergeāts to lai hold of vs, hir iudges to cōdēn vs, or her hangmē to execute vs: if they, which in hart do forſake her wold in effect leue hir, wher wer thē hir armies to force vs, hir gard to ſkare vs, or hir coin to cōtent thē: ther is no more to do but to ſem boldli to take hart, thē wil this autority, this boldnes, foūded & meinteined vpon our ſlugishnes, & daſtardlines, faldoun of it ſelf: wherof I pray you, doe you thīk? what cā the reuēge of this womā brīg vn-

to

to you, profit or los: good or euell reestablishmēt or vtter destructiō: haue we alredy forgottē al the euels which the realme hath & stil thrugh her doth abide? or thīk we that this new title hath in on night amended her: doth not the clergy se howe their goods are burdened with tenths, spoiled by such *Italiēs* as she prouideth for, & set to sale vnder couler of ciuil wars, thogh in deed to satisfy to her vnprofitabl expēses, wherin after the maner of hir gret *oncle Pope Leo* she deliteth to much? perceueth not the nobility, how their goods ar in maner wasted, thēselues thrugh wars & murders extīguished & spoild of their honors & dignities, to the end with the same for to endu vnworthy & strāge persōs, marck they not also whervnto do tēd these good ly propositiōs of takīg frō gentlmē the offices of iustices, of serching their demains, the rights of the third & the dāger of īpositiōs vpō baptisms, mariages, & such like, which al had bene alredy agreed & concluded vpon, had not the protestants bene, against whom she hath soght for a time to entertain vs: do not the cōmōs consider of the burdens of taxes, lones or suche lyke which daily are laid vpon their own necks

The clergi

The nobilitye.

The Communaltye.

for the buildinge of vnprofitable houſes, for the enriching of ſtrangers with wonderfull giftes, for the making of a little raskall *de Gondy* one of the richeſt lordes in *France*? and who knoweth not that all theſe miſchiefes haue proceded only from hir who had gotten ſuch poſſeſsion of the late kinge, by the honeſt deuiſes afore rehearſed, that hee gouerned no more then in his minoritie, and are vve yet ſo farre abuſed as too thyncke that shee vvyll amende?

You doe ſee hovv shee entred into this regency, namely ouer the vvaule, and by the vvindowe lyke to a thiefe, neither loke vve that shee should doe other then robb and ſpoyle: you ſee all ready hovv shee beginneth: Shee hath ſo well molified tvvo or three of the Clargye, that for enuye one at the other, they haue graunted too her an exceſsiue ſomme vvhiche cannot bee payde vvithout excedinge oppreſſion of all eccleſiaſticall parſons, alreadye heere tofore ſufficyentlye burdenned, and in the meane tyme it is the poore incumbent vvho hathe interreſte, the ſilly Curate or the Bishopp vvhich ſimply is reſident in his

The Clargy.

dioceſe

dioceſe, but not my lorde the cardinal, the courtiſan bishop, or abbot, vvho knoweth how to be recompenſed, and shal haue the firſt abbey that falleth, who ſemeth liberal of his own purſe, wherby to haue occaſion ſo to be of other mens. Shee hath already procured the deathes of a.100. gentlemen of both religions, & yet to her power con tineweth the ſame order, in ſtead that wayting the comming of our king out of *Poleland* she shold ſtay all weapons: For, whom doe they thinck to ſerue, who in hir behalf do cõmande, or thoſe men which do obey them? To the king? I can not tel that, neither know I, whē he cõmeth, whither they shal be diſaduowed, for leading his ſubiects to the ſlaughter without his knowledge. *The Nobilitie.*

I know not whither the bloods & liues of a thouſãd the kings ſubiects, whom as wel of the one part, as of the other, at the appetite of a woman, deſtitute of all lawful autoritie, they haue cauſed to dye, shall one day yet be redemanded at their hands. It is a thing which hath in time paſt ben ſeene, and yet in this cace might peraduenture once more bee ſought for.

But wherfore thĩck you that not lõg ſince shee cauſed to behead the *County* of Mon-

gommery

gommery being a prisoner of warre (for all men know that the death of the late king Henry was not to be imputed to him) onlesse it were, partly to satisfie her vengable appetite, partly also to moue the protestants to vse the like courtesy toward the Catholick lordes, in case any doe faul into theyr handes? but what may I say in this poinct, that she hath bene so farr past shame, so vniust, so cruell, and so vnnatur all, as for to minister both the ordinary & extraordinary rack, vnto the said *Coũty*, to the ende to cõpell him to confesse that my lorde the Duke caused him to enter in to the filde, thereby seking to bringe the sayd pore prince morẽ & more into hatred? which matter neuertheless, euen at the poynct of death, hee protested to bee most false, affirminge that he toke wepon onely for the recouery of his goods and the libertie of his religion. Coulde there haue bene any more wicked inuenciõ deuised? war it not a signe of as small accõpt of the life and hònor of her sonne, as of the simplest or meanest protestãt in *France*, And to retorne to our matter, as touching the thirde estate, see you not at which end she begineth, sekig euen at her cõing in, to take

The Commaltye.

take vpp the rentes of the towne houſe of *Paris*? Is there any good houſe (*I* ſpeake not of *Paris* onely) but almoſt throughhout all *France*, vvhich therein hathe not great intereſt? In the meane tyme vnder the shadow of three or foure perſons to whome shee will giue ſixe times more then theyr intereſt) who hath granted it to her, all the realme moſt therin be ordered at hir pleaſure. And to what ende tendeth all this? euen to finde meanes to kepe ſtill our princes & lords in priſon, againſt whō ſoeuer shold endeuour to deliuer them, to plāt good garriſōs in the fortereſſes which lately she made to be builded vvithin the cities, to the ende, whatſoeuer she did, none shold preſume once to tell her thereof, & to diſpoſe of our liues & goods as she shal think good. To be briefe, she maketh vs to pay for the haulter wherin she pretendeth hereafter to hange vs: and therefore let vs ſeeke from hir no other thinge then euell vpon euell, and deſtruction vpon deſtruction: for she neuer either did, either wil doe otherwiſe. So long as she hath to do in the regiment, although our king shold come, euen to morow, out of *Polonia*, yet shall we haue nothing but euill. The hogshed may

wel

well be changed but the wine will ſtill bee all one: For she can (if a mā looke not narowly to her.) ſo farre abuſe his lenitye, & vſurpe his auctonty as to bende the ſame after her wonted maner. For the nature of this woman is always to be doing euell: and thus much more I ſay, that neuer woman who yet gouerned our realme, dyd breed more miſchief. I wil not here repete the mōſtrous vices both of hir ſelf and of others: For that wold require a ſeueral volume: I ſpeake only of their gouernment. *Fredegonde*, *Brunehault*, *Plectiude*, and *Iudith*, did ſo long as they liued, kindle and maintayne ciuill warres in this realme, thereby to diſpatch the nobilitye, ſetting ielouzy betwene the father and the ſonne, the brother and the brother, to the ende duringe theyr diſcordes to entertayne them ſelues. *Blanch* did vſurpe the protectorshippe of the kinge *S. Lewes* being betwene eleuen & twelue years of age, which leaſt the eſtates shold take frō her, she moued the catholiks to areare war againſt the *Albigēſes*, vvhō the Pope had pronoūced heretikes: Notwithſtādig ſone after all mē maruayled to behold moſt part of the nobles of the realm either to be *Albigences* or

Womans pernicious gouernmēt in France.

The annales of France Otto Friſing. in the Chron. of Aimo: lib. 5.

The lorde of Louvill

elſe

els to haue ſom intelligēces with thē, as she went about to make the world beleue, and in dede vnder this pretence she diſpatched hir hands of them all, & when the king hir ſonne came to his maioritie, after she had moſt rigorouſly kept him vnder, she foūd meanes to remayne onely regent, by ſending him toward the conqueſt of the holy lande: This is the leſſon which our *Queen* hath learned of her, as now we may manyfeſtly perceue. She woold perſwade vs that we be all proteſtants. She alſo may wel affirm that she hath choſen hir for a pattern in her forme of regiment.

In cace the eſtates of this Realme had not preuented the shameleſſe bouldneſſe of *Iſabel* of *Bauiere* the wife of *Charles the ſixt*, & ſent her to dreſſe hir gardens at *Tours*, shee would in no vviſe haue degenerated from the nature of the reſt, as was euident by hir beginninges. The lady of *Beauiew* at what time the eſtates of *Tours* had cōmended to hir the charge ouer the perſō of *Charles the eighth* her brother, determined to intrude hir ſelf into the regiment, & cōceued ſuch a iclozy againſt the *duke of Orleās*, that shee went about to lay hould of him wherby he fel in ſuch

Engnerrāt of Montruell in the Anales of France.

ſuch diſpayre, that he ſlede whether ſo euer hee might? This Duke was he who afterward was named *Lewes* the twelfth and ſurnamed, the father of the people, one of the beſt princes that euer liued, to whom at that time, the nobility profered the regencye.

Againe of freſh remembrãce, I ſpeake of the time of *Frances* the firſt, who during his voyage into *Italy*, lefte the Lady Lewes of Sauoy, his mother Regent, was not the cauſe of the loſſe of *Milan* which before had bene wonne with the blood of ſo many frenchmen, when as she cauſed *Semblancay* (who for that deed was put to death) to deliuer vnto her the fower hundred thouſand crownes which by him the kinge ſent to the lorde of *l'Autret*, who, his army beinge for wante of payment broken, was compelled quite to forſake all?

VVhereas alſo *Brunehault*, by moſt mens opinions, ſemeth to haue gotten the victorye of wickedneſſe aboue all others and that our hiſtoriographers ſpekig of *Fredegond* do name her, the mallice of the world next vnto *Brunehault*, yet ſemeth it, by conferringe the dealinges of this woman, that

all

all her life time, she hath sought no other then to cary away the victory aboue the parison of said *Brunehault*, as may plainly be seene, in cace any man wil confer the doings of the one with the other. *Brunehault* by birth was a *Spaniard*: *Katherin* is an *Italien* & *florentine*, both wer strangers, who bare no naturall affection towards the kingdome: But the *Italien* is able to abuse the *Spaniard*, and the *Florentine* al other *Italiens*. *Brunehault* was daughter of *Athanage* king of *Spain* by reason wherof she should loue the nobilitie: *Katherin* is the daughter of *Laurence de Medicis*, a family growne vp through marchandise & vsury, such a one as cā not loue the nobility, & alwaies haue sought the rotīg out of the same. *A Sibille* (saith our histories) prophesied that a fog shold com out of *spain* which shold brīg to deth our *kings* & *princes*, & finally shold be torn with horses you haue red the goodly prognosticatiōs, cōcernīg *Katherīs* natiuity which forshewed that she shold brīg to destructiō, the place whither she should be maried, & the seueral coūsails giuē thervp on *Brunehault* was the daughter of an *Ariā* and in *Arianisme* instructed and brought vp *Katherin* beeing of the race of an *A-*

The comparison of Brunehault with Katherine.

Read word for word the life of Brunehault in our Annales.

theiſt,& norished in *Atheiſme*,hath repleni shed the Realme,but eſpecially the court vvith *Atheiſtes*.

Better is it to erre in one Religion, then to haue none at all, and to fayle in one article, then in all the beliefe.

Brunehault vvas marryed too *Sigebert*, *king of Metz*, through the counſaile of *Godomare* maire of the pallace,who fetched hir out of *Spaine*, and dyd to her all the honor that he could: in recompence whereof she dyd afterwarde put him to deathe: *Katherine* beinge marryed to good King Henry at that tyme Duke of Orleance, hath for the moſt parte hated all her benefactours.

Shee could not patiently brooke the Conſtables lyfe, vvho vvas the chiefe auctor of her marriage, and of all the honor vvhich euer beefell her, vvho alſo moſt honorably receaued her,euen in the borders of the Realme.

Shee hath ſecretly procured the poyſoning of the Cardinall of *Chaſtillion*, notwithſtāding he only in a maner ſtayed her from beinge ſent whome into *Italye*, and cured her of her ſickneſſe at *Reimes* in *Champagne*: wher the phiſitions had giuen

hir

hir ouer: Finally she hath procured the murdering of the *Admiral*, who moued the eſtates to graunt to her the whol regimēt.

Brunchault perceauinge that her ſonne *Childebert* after his fathers deceaſe began to ſmell out her pernicious counſayles, poyſoned him in a bath, vvhereby she might obteyne the gouernment of the Realme, vnder the pretence of the minoritie of *Theodebert* and *Theodoric* the ſonnes of her ſayde ſonne *Childebert*, of whome the one vvas kinge of *Metz* and *Auſtraſie*, and the other of *Orleance*: *Katherine* in her firſte yeares cauſed to poyſon my lorde Frances the *Dolphine*, the elder brother of her huſband Henrye, vvhereby hee might drawe nere to the Crowne:

Shee led the late Kinge of Nauarre to the ſlaughter, becauſe that to him iuſtly apperteyned the Regiment of thys Kingedome: and leaſte I should enter into ſuch preſumptions as I could alleadge concerninge the death of the laſt Kinge, she openly at this preſent keepeth my Lorde the Duke her ſonne, and the Kinge of Nauarre her ſonne in lavve, pryſoners, the better thereby too enioye the Regencye, neyther knovve I

whether they had yet liued, had not the Prince of *Conde* whom she would not permit to approch so neare to the succesino, saued him selfe out of her handes.

Bruchault, by reason of her most priuate affaires, loued one *Proclaide* a *Romain*, or Lūbard, a man of base calling and of no value: him she honoured with the chiefe offices in the realme, which by all right appertained to the nobilitie: him did she enriche with taxes, subsidies, and exactions which she layeth vpō the commons, wherby of a poore raskall, she hath made him Duke of a *Duchie* bought for hir ready money. This *Katherine* vppon like occasions, louethone *Gondy* a *Florentine*, extract out of the race of Marchants, the sonne of a banquer, whose father twise plaied the banque rout at *Lions*: and of one who first was a courtisan, but in her age became a bawd in the said citie of *Lions*. This man hath bene knowen to followe a treasurers mule, afterward he became clarke of a Commissarie for victuals to the campe at *Amiens*: shortly after he was made Maister of the kings warderobe, and now we may see him (though not for any good seruice to the realme) Countie of *Rhetz*, and almost one-

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ly Marshall of *Fraunce*.

Brunehault was gouerned by her *Proclayde*, and could neuer exalt him high enough to her minde, but continually feared leaſt the mightye men in the kingdome would withſtand her, and therfore she diſpatched *Rannus* and *Egila*, two great lordes, & moued warre betwene *Theodoric kinge* of *Orleans* whom she gouerned after her owne fancye, and *Clothair kinge of Paris*, expreſſely, (ſayth our hiſtory) to make awey the mightye, and principally *Berthonault*, mayr of the pallace, an auncient and graue knight, who was ſlayne in a battaile fought tē at the *riuer of Eſtampes*, after whoſe death she made her *Proclaide* mayre of the ſayde *Pallace*: *Katherine*, the eaſlyer with her *Grandy*, to gouerne alone, fearing leaſt the nobilitye, shold reſiſt her ſo exceſſiue exalting of him, founded only vpon a womans vnreaſonable motion, kindeleth ciuill warres in this realme, ſetteth brothern & neighbours one agaynſt an other, yea she procedeth ſo far, as in short time to diſpatch the *kinge of Nauarre*, being the firſt prince of the bloud, hauing attayned to his Maiority: of *Anna de Mommorancy Conſtable of France*, of the *Duke of Guiſe* great maſter, all

thre peers of *frãce* of the *Marshal* of S. *Andrewes*, and of infinite other lords & gẽtlemẽ, ſom by poyſon & ſom by war, whereby this poore raſcal, now remayneth in maner al only about her, ordering all thinges after his own pleaſure. *Theodebert* Kyng of *metz* was in the beginning *Brunchaults* beſt ſon, her beſt beloued, to whõ ſhe gaue the greateſt parte of his late fathers treaſures: but ſone afterward he perceuing her drifts chaſed her out of his realme, wherby with her *Proclaide*, ſhee was driuen to retire vnto her other back child *Theodoric king* of *Orleance*, whoſe maſter of the pallais ſhe made her *Proclaid*: The proteſtantes, as you ſee, were in the beginning the *kings* good ſubiects, this good ladies beſt fauorites, & the moſt welcom: they ſinel out her ſubtilties & wil no lenger haue to do with her, wher vpon ſhe beginneth to counterfeat all the Catholick, gouerning vs after the coũſayl of her *Gõdy* as beſt pleſeth him. *Proclaid* cã not forget his nature, but burdeneth the people with taxes & impoſts, & bringeth down the princes and lords of *Theodoricks* kingdome by al meanes, and therby getteth the diſpleſure of al men: *Gondy* dayly inuenteth new meanes how to oppres the

people

people, committeth al the aydes of *France* into the handes of Italyan peagers and gabellers, deuydeth this realme among hys lyke coequalls, and fynally waxeth so presomtious, vpon the support of this womā who hateth the *princes* of the blood to deth that he will commaund them, euen to his clokebagge, makyng of them hys varlets.

But what commeth hereof: The princes & lordes of the realme of *Orleance* conteining almost the third part of *Fraunce* begin to bee weary hereof, and to see to them selues.

Brunchaulte to the ende to turne theire mindes and to occupy them otherwyse, and so still to dispatche her selfe of some one of them, through Proclaydes counsayle, moueth warre betweene her two backe sonnes; Theodebert and Theodoricke, by makyng the poore Theodorick (whome then shee gouerned) to beleeue that Theodebert who before had bene her good chylde, was a bastarde and the sonne of a concubine.

Our princes and greate Lordes of the realme begynne already to smell that

ſomething was motioned againſte them, and our good Quene feared greatly leaſt they should reunite them ſelues togither, wherby to ouerthrowe the greatnes which *Gondy* ſought in their falles, and therefore thought it mete to ſet them on work, leaſt they shoulde haue any leyſure to thinke thereof: herevpon she perſuadeth vs Catholikes (who to our coſtes do beleue her) that the proteſtantes (whiche before were her beſt beloued) are vnfaithfull ſubiectes to the King, that they be rebels, that they muſt be driuen out at the dores as baſtards and illegitimate, and thus by ſuch ſubtilties, the warre is renewed and we ſlay our brethren, friends, and kinſfolkes, and doo dye our ſelues.

After much blood shed at *Brunehaultes* deſire, the Lordes of the realme of *Orleans*, (where she ruled in the name of *Theodoric*) do returne to their firſt opinion, counſayling the king to conclude peace with his brother, propoūding to him the vniuſtice of the warre, and the intente for the which moſt fitly it was put in his head. The king of him ſelf is ſufficiētly beaten therto, but the Queene will in no wiſe hearken to thē and her *Proclaide* ioineth againſt it, for that

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the peace & concorde of the two brethren was capitall enimie to his greatneſſe, wherin by their only diſcorde he was vpholdē. Finally therefore, they ſeing him the only hinderer of their good counſayle, by a cōmune conſent, went into his tente & ſlew him, and then by their exhortations ſo labored king *Theodoric*, that he agreed with his brother. The chiefe lords of our realm, ſeeing how final accompt was made of the venturing of their liues, namely that they were, wherſoeuer any were ſlaine in the ciuil warres, but ſcoffed and laughed at: alſo that ſhe ſought to murder them one with another among the proteſtantes, were for the moſt parte reſolued to beſtowe their paynes for the reeſtablishing of the common peace, and neuer to reenter into the ciuill warres wherein ſhe pretended to get an ende of them: but were it they had loſt part of their French magnanimitie, or that by a more gentle meanes thei hoped to remedy theſe miſchiefes: they neuer proceded ſo farre, as to ſlay this youth, notwithſtanding they knew him the chief counſeler of theſe ciuill warres, diſloyalties, treaſons, & murders, which are for the rooting of them out, practiſed.

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Brunehault a woman of an vnquiet mynde, will at what price ſoeuer it bee, bee reuenged of her frendes death, and purſueth the principall autors thereof, *Vtile* and *Bolſus* euen to the death. This reuenge might in ſome cace haue bene tolerable, becauſe they ſlew her frende, whom shee loued ſo well: but not ſo contente, she renewed the warre agayn betwene her two back ſonnes the two brotheren, and theyr realmes of *Metz* and *Orleans*, and found meanes agayn to put into *Theodoric* kinge of *Orleans* his head, that ſtill shee bare this auncient ſlander, that his brother *Theodoric* was a baſtard the ſonne of a concubine: Se how in this poinct our *Katherine* is farre worſe: For she hath cauſed to murder and ſlay thouſādes of our pore brothren vnder coulor of the mariage of her own daughter. I mean, infinite gentlemē proteſtāts, & many others of all degrees, and one among an other woulde haue ſlayne the chiefe of vs, as the lordes of *Mommorancye*, the *marshall de Coſſe* and others, and vnder this pretence ſought to driue the lordes of *Guiſe* from the courte, as auctors of all miſchiefe:
VVe haue paciently borne all, vve haue in no poinct troubled hir or her *Gondy*, vve

ſeeke only to liue in reſt: And ſe: becauſe vvee vvill no lenger dippe oure blades with her in our brothers blood, she purſueth vs to deth, as much as euer she purſued them, she layeth a thouſand embushes, she appoynteth a thouſand murders, and yet after al theſe miſchiefs, she ſtil remayneth in ſo good credite with ſome of vs, (I wotte not by what accurſed fate) that she cauſeth vs to reenter into warres, one againſte an other, in the ſame pretence, as before, namely vnder coulour of religion wherwith she neither is, neither was once touched.

And what will be the ende hereof, onleſſe GOD doeth shortly render to vs oure mindes and vnderſtandinge, is yet vncertaine.

Before this ſporte was done, Theodorick king of Orleance, chaſed his brother *Theodebert* king of Metz oute of his realm, as a baſtard which she affirmed him to be, he heweth in peces almoſt al his brothers nobilitie, he shetteth vp his brother within *Cullein*, yea he departeth not before he hath his head, and bringeth his childrē to *Brunehault* who ſlaieth them, ſcarce hath he acōplished al this, but that he repēteth,

feeling

feeling a wonderfull remors in his conſcience: It happeneth that he is deſirous to marry his late brothers daughter, vvho onely remayned, and thinketh this marriage lawefull, bicauſe (ſayth the hiſtorie) he accompted her as a baſtards daughter, but *Brunehault*, vvho for a tyme had vſed this pretence, wherby to procure them to ſlay one an other, and beefore to the ende he might forſake his firſt wyfe, had furniſhed him of Concubines, doeth begin to feare that, if he once fancieth this woman, he wil expel her from the gouernment, & sheweth him, that with a ſafe cõſcience he may not do it, bicauſe shee is his brothers daughter. Here, although to late, he perceueth the wickedneſſe of this woman. Oh thou accurſed woman (ſaith he) thou haſt made me kil my brother, thou haſt cauſed me to root out his race, and afore touldeſt me that he was nothig to me. To ſinal purpoſe was it for this *prince* to freat, for ſone after she cauſed to miniſter to him poyſon, wherof he dyed: At *Katherines* motion we haue ſufficiẽtly ſlaine our brethren, shortly ther will bee no more left, vve haue ſacrifiſed them to *Brunehault* by thouſandes, & dayly ſome of vs doe bring in more to

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the ſlaughter. VVe all should euidently knowe that, in that she telleth vs they be baſtardes, and be euill ſubiectes to the crowne, is but forged and inuented purpoſely to make vs one to ſlay an other. Yea, God be thanked, we for the moſt part do reaſonably well begin to feele remorce in our conſciences, for ſo many murders, cruelties, and ſlaughters which we haue tollerated, and whervnto ſome of vs haue ſet to our handes: already alſo ſeeing we can not rayſe them vp againe, we doo at the leaſt, endeuour to kepe and preſerue thoſe fewe whiche be left. But what doeth our Brunehault nowe? See you not howe she powreth forth poyſon to her other ſonne? perceyue you not howe shee draweth her knife to cut our throates? VVhat are the Catholike gentlemē whom daily she putteth to death? VVhat be the Lordes of *Mommorancy*, the Marshal *de Coſſe*, and other Catholike Lordes, whom to the death she purſueth? If not the chief among vs whom she will ſlay, thereby the better to root vs all out afterwarde? See you not that, all one to her is the lawfull and the baſtarde? the Catholike and the proteſtant? that she loueth neither the one neyther the other? that

that shee semed to loue the one vntyll hee had slayne his brother, and afterward hath purchased his death? And to what ende? Only to rule alone after her own appetite: which before shee could not, because wee all knew her ententes:

Brunebault hath dispatched her two back sonnes, giuing the one to vnderstand that the other was a basterde.

The nobility of both realmes for the most parte is extinguished: now, whereas before shee vsed, the coulor of bastardlynesse to destroy them both, her selfe will rule theyr realmes, as Tutrice of the basterdes of her sonne *Theodoric* whom shee hath poysoned, and therfrom will exclude *Clotayr Kinge of Paris* the next heyre to whom the right of these realme, doth appertayne: But shee knoweth that the lordes of the contrye will endeuour to maynteyne hym iu his right to whom it appartayneth, also that one *Garnier*: who then was mayster of the Pallace, would neuer permitt the regency so vnlawfully vsurped to remayne vnto her: wherefore shee maketh as shee would trauayle in the affayres of the Realme, and in the meane time, wryteth to one of her

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partakers named *Albon*, to murder the ſayd *Garnier*:

But, as God would, *Albon* after the reading of *Brunehaults* letters, tore them and the pieces beyng gathered agayn togither, were brought vnto *Garnier*, vvho ſaued him ſelfe ſo well as hee myght, and ayde *Clothayr* the lawlull inheritor to the poſſeſsion of the kingdome to him appertayning:

VVhat doth our *Katherin*? ſee how ſteppe by ſteppe shee foloweth this pattern and example of all miſchiefe:

Nay marke how in parte shee doth ſurmount her.

The *king* hir ſonne is at the point of death. It ſemeth the *King of Polande* cannot come time enough, as well by reaſon of his ſickneſſe as through the longneſſe of the way:

Shee will in nowiſe forſake the gouernment, but by ſome extraordinary meanes whatſoeuer, will ſtill kepe it in her owne handes.

If shee aſſembleth the eſtates that they maye prouide, shee knoweth they haue to euell an opinion of her, and accordyng to equity, they will cõmit the ſame to my lorde the *Duke*, as next of the blood & the

late

late Kings lieutenant generall. Hauing therefore ſubtilly diffamed, and thorough her ſclaunders made him odious to all mē, she empriſoneth him and the king of *Nauarre*, ſeeking meanes alſo to entrappe the Prince of *Conde*: and for that she knoweth that the chiefe officers of the crowne can not in harte allow theſe her moſt miſchieuous dealings, and doubteth that they will endeuour to deliuer the Princes out of her handes, she commaundeth the Lordes of *Ioyeuſe*, *Maugeron*, and *Furquenaux*, to ſeaze vpon the Marshall *d'Anuil*, eyther dead or in life, whileſt that she emploieth him for the pacifying of his gouernement. Euen at the ſame inſtant that they should haue diſpatched this matter, she ſeazed vppon the Lordes of *Mommorency* and *Coſſe*: And the better to bring them into hatred, she published that they had conſpired. But as it was Gods will that the enterpriſe agaīſt the Marshal *d'Anuil*, was in time diſcouered, euen ſo (if it pleaſe him) she shall not be able to practiſe her wicked entente againſt the reſt.

To what ende is *Brunehault*, after ſo many cruelties, treaſons, parricides, and vngodlineſſes come? *Clothair* malgre her might,

might, atteyneth the crowne, all the estates (as it were) vpon their shoulders, doe cary him to his throne.

Brunehaultes processe is openly made by the assembly of the estates: and finally by all mens consent, euery one pronouncing the sentence which in his harte he hadde giuen against her long before, she is drawn at a horse tayle, euen vntil she finished her wicked life, and so was torne in peeces. Nowe let euery man iudge what sentence our *Katherine* deserueth, who in one daye hath caused to murder more men, women and children, then did *Brunehault* in all her warres. I dare assure my selfe that there is no mā who in hart giueth not more sharp iudgement against her, then this is: But I do protest that I desire vengeance against her, of none but God, vnto whom only it appertayneth, who at his appointed time, can chastise her for such euills as she hath committed against both the common wealth, and all vs particularly: Onely I beseeche that *Clothair* may be receiued to his right, that our king may lawfully raigne, that our Princes and Lordes may be deliuered out of her bloudy handes, and that he to whom the regiment doth appertain

may be therein eſtablished, to the end he may remedie ſuch euils as already she hath committed, and preuent all thoſe that be behinde.

To this ſo holy and laudable an enterpriſe, the Royall race, my Lordes the Princes of the blood, out of which you be extraight, doo inuite you. Suffer therefore no longer the lifes of theſe poore Princes, to remayne at her diſcretion, who doeth bath her ſelfe in your blood: Incurre not this dishonor, that ſtraungers, who in no reſpect doo belong to them, should shew themſelues more bent to their deliuerance then you.

Vnto this worke, ye Lordes and French gentlemen, your duties and honors doo call you: you beare not armes for nothing: they ought to tende to the health of your Princes, your countrey, and your ſelues. Permit not therefore your Princes to be eſclaues, neither the chief officers of this Crowne, for their onely good will, which al men doo knovve that they beare to the conſeruation thereof, be in danger of their liues: neyther your ſelues dayly to be put toorth to the death for the ſatiſfying of the vengeable appetite of one

woman. Let vs acknowledge that, notvvithstanding any difference of religion among vs, vet we be all Frenchmen, the lavvfull children of one onely countrie, borne in one realme, and subiect to one King: and let Brunehault no longer put into our heds, to the end we may one slay an other, that our brethren be baltardes, illegitimate, and no true Frenchmen: and so as you see, in the ende bring vs all to death one after another.

Let vs therefore all marche togyther, with one harte and pace: all I saye, of all estates and conditions, Gentlemen, Burgeses, and Peasantes: and constraine her to restore our Princes and Lordes to libertie. Vnto you my Lordes of *Paris* is presented the occasion of atteyning to this honour: let therfore no man preuent you. Your citie is the head of this Realme, and the Seate of our Kings and Princes: vvill you therefore suffer them to be prisoners vvithin your vvalles? Shall they who so long haue mayntayned your liberties, be nowe kept in captiuitie, in any place, where you be able to deliuer them? Shall Brunehault haue recourse to you, and *Clothayr* remayne prisoner? I dare saye you will

will permit no such thing. God through his singular prouidence, hath caused her to bring them into a place of Sanctuarie, when neuertheleſſe shee thought to bring them to prison: For I knowe well, you wil remember your auncient renowne, you will take your weapons, you will goe straight to the prison wherein shee holdeth them, and you will snatch them out of the handes of this accursed *Brunchault*. Also, that no enclosure, walle, gate, or garde shall hinder or slacken this enterprise, worthie of true Frenchmen & auncient citizens of *Paris*. Thus shall these poore Princes acknowledge their liues of you: yon shall for euer binde this realme to your citie. Al christendome shall commend the singular affection which you do beare to the blood of your Kinges: and the posteritie shall perpetually celebrate so famous, commendable and holy a deed, being aboue all other, most worthie of euerlasting memorie.

FINIS.